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A. Bannerman Sculp.

Cardinal de Retz.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

CONTAINING,

THE PARTICULARS OF HIS OWN LIFE,

WITH THE

MOST SECRET TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

FRENCH COURT AND THE CIVIL WARS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The beſt Memoirs that I know of, are thoſe of Cardinal de Retz. ---I hardly know any Book ſo neceſſary for a young Man to read and remember; you will there find how great Buſineſs is really carried on, very differently from what People who have never been concerned in it imagine. In ſhort you will, in every Page of that Book, ſee that ſtrange inconſiſtent Creature, Man, juſt as he is. Lord Cheſterfield's Letters to his Son.

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TO

GEORGE STACPOOLE,

OF

GROSVENOR PLACE, Esq.

SIR,

THE MEMOIRS OF CARDINAL DE RETZ have ever been greatly and justly admired.—Abroad the ardor and applause they were received with was uncommon, no less than seven editions were printed in one year; here they have not been sufficiently known in our language. The late Earl of Chesterfield, that excellent judge of literary merit, after having employed himself in making large extracts for the use of a favourite son, strongly recommends the intire work to his perusal, as the best Memoirs extant. A new edition being eagerly demanded by the public, I beg leave to have the honour of inscribing them to a gentleman, remarkable for his liberality of mind and manners, and that noble benevolence which characterises the truly great and good.

I am, SIR,

With great respect,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

THOMAS EVANS.

PREFACE.

WHEN the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz were firſt publiſhed, (in 1717) the general approbation they met with, not only abroad, but among thoſe of our own nation that underſtand French, gave room to hope, that ſome able writer would not have thought it beneath him to have tranſlated them into Engliſh. But after a long expectation, ſeeing no appearance that there was any ſuch deſign in hand, not even by thoſe who made it their buſineſs to enrich the publick with their labours of that kind, I was induced to attempt the thing; which, I own, I did before I well knew how hard the taſk was. For I ſoon perceived, that as no book, perhaps, deſerves better to be made Engliſh, ſo, perhaps, no book is more difficult to be tranſlated, if it be done in a manner that preſerves, not only the life and ſpirit, but likewiſe the true ſenſe of the original, which, in ſome places, many Frenchmen themſelves can hardly come at, by reaſon of the defects and miſtakes in the copy. Being however once ſet upon it, and finding myſelf ſupported and encouraged by the pleaſure I took in reading over and over that valuable piece: but above all, being excited to go on, by a perſon to whom I owe the greateſt reſpect, and without whoſe advice and aſſiſtance it had been impoſſible for me to go through with it, I reſolved upon continuing, and doing my beſt, not to make it appear contemptible in the new dreſs I was to ſhew it in. If I have not ſucceeded ſo well as I could have wiſhed, I may ſay however, in my own behalf, that I have ſpared neither pains nor time, to bring it, with the aſſiſtance before-mentioned, as near perfection as I was able, and that I have beſides, upon all occaſions wherein I have met with difficulties, conſulted the beſt judges I knew, both of the French and Engliſh languages. Thoſe who underſtand the original, and know the difficulty of giving the true meaning of it in Engliſh, will be the moſt ready to excuſe the faults which I may have committed, amongſt which, if a few Galliciſms, and other errors in the ſtile have crept

in, I beg that it may be considered how hard it is to avoid them in a translation, which is but a first essay, and which was undertaken only as a diversion after studies of another kind. I have taken care to explain, by as short notes as I could, what it had otherwise been impossible for most of the English readers to have a right notion of. These notes, which are altogether necessary, and some others which I thought might be of some ornament to these Memoirs, have cost me no small pains; for as to the notes in the French edition, they are of little significancy, relating most of them to names, and not to things, which it was supposed that a French reader was acquainted with.

To say now something of the Cardinal de Retz himself; it is thought needless to give, as in the advertisement before the French edition, a long account here of his genealogy, the notes being sufficient to inform the reader of what relates to his family. As for his character, his Memoirs describe him better than any body can pretend to do, and may perhaps be much better depended upon, than those either of Joli, or of the Dutchess de Nemours, which were published soon after his, and which probably would never have appeared, if his had not come out before; the curiosity of the publick being chiefly excited in respect to them, because of the mention which is made there, and of the character which is given of the Cardinal de Retz. Joli had for a long time been in the Cardinal's service, but left it a year or two after the Cardinal's return into France, not being able to bear that another *, whose merit he thought much inferior to his own, should be more trusted than he: and perhaps because the Cardinal was not now in a condition to do for him what he expected, and what he thought he deserved. In the preface to his Memoirs, wherein he is set out with a load of praises, it is said, however, that towards the end of the book, the malignity of his invectives against the Cardinal de Retz is too obvious not to strike the reader's eyes; which malignity is attributed to the

* Malclerc, Gentleman of the Horse to Cardinal de Retz.

grudge

grudge he owed his master, for the preference which has been mentioned. It is left to those who will be at the trouble to read his Memoirs, to judge whether this be well grounded, and to decide who is the modester man of the two, the Cardinal in what he says of Joli, or Joli in what he says of the Cardinal. It is likewise left to them, to judge who is the best writer of the two, and whether the French prefacer is in the right, when he decides so magisterially, that Joli's stile is much preferable to that of the Cardinal. If I were allowed to give my opinion in this point, I should say of the Cardinal de Retz, what the late Marquis of Hallifax * says of Montaigne: 'That nature has made him too 'big to confine himself to the exactness of a studied 'stile.' So far as the Cardinal's Memoirs reach, the notes will mention in what Joli differs from his eminence, about facts of which they both speak; and as Joli has therein been mistaken more than once, so perhaps would it appear, if we had the rest of the Cardinal's Memoirs, that in Joli's account of the subsequent facts, he has, more than once misrepresented his master. This is not said to justify all the Cardinal's actions, some of which, as he himself confesses, are very blameable. But even supposing the whole of Joli's account to be true, the question would still be, Whether he was in the right to speak in the manner he has done? Before I leave him I must take notice of several large presents in money, which he says the Cardinal received from King Charles the Second, after his restoration. If the fact be true, would it be unreasonable to think, that another cause of Joli's discontent might proceed from his fingering none of that money? What is most certain is, that King Charles, both before and after his restoration, shewed an esteem for the Cardinal, from whom both himself and the Queen-mother had received some good offices. The Earl of Clarendon, in the last † volume of his History of the

* In his letter to Charles Cotton, Esq; who had dedicated to him his translation of Montaigne's Essays.

† Page 511, 512, of the octavo edition. The whole passage will be inserted in the fourth volume.

Rebellion, ſpeaks honourably of the Cardinal de Retz, and confirms what is ſaid in his Memoirs, of a letter from the King of England to him, which was found in his pocket at the time he was arreſted.

I ſhall ſay but little of the Memoirs of the Dutcheſs * de Nemours, which followed thoſe of Joli, and of which the judgment is likewiſe left to thoſe who will be at the pains to read them. I ſhall only borrow, in reſpect to the character which that Lady gives of the Cardinal de Retz, an obſervation from a good writer, upon what the Duke de la Rochefoucaut ſays of him in his Memoirs. The Duke, who was probably better acquainted with the Cardinal than the Lady, and who hated him perhaps more, gives this character of him †. 'This gentleman (ſays he) having added to many 'good qualities, both natural and acquired, the de-'fect which, according to the corruption mankind is 'fallen into, is reputed a virtue, was ſtained with an 'immoderate ambition, and with an unruly deſire of 'increaſing, by any means whatſoever, his fortune and 'his reputation. So that his firm courage and his 'powerful genius met with a ſad and unfortunate ob-'ject, which was the diſorder the ſtate was in, and the 'confuſion of the capital city, of which he was Arch-'biſhop.' And in another place, ſpeaking of the peace made after the firſt ſiege of Paris, the Duke ſays ‡, 'Thoſe that were againſt that peace, took hold of 'ſome articles for a pretence to diſcredit it, chiefly 'the Coadjutor §, who was exaſperated, becauſe hav-

* Mary, daughter to Henry of Orleans Duke de Longueville, by his firſt wife Louiſa de Bourbon, ſiſter to the Count de Soiſſons; that Lady married Henry of Savoy, Duke de Nemours. My Lord Clarendon ſays, 'That Sir John Berkley deſigned this Lady for 'the Duke of York's wife, as one of the greateſt and richeſt mar-'riages in France, in reſpect of her fortune, though in reſpect to 'her perſon not at all attractive.' See the Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. vol. vi. page 454.

† Page 140, of the edition printed in 1690.

‡ Page 162.

§ The Cardinal de Retz was then Coadjutor to the Archbiſhop of Paris.

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'ing excited the war, it was put an end to without him; 'and that of all the advantages which his ambition 'had represented to him, he had nothing left him, but 'the shame of having endeavoured to pull down the 'state.' This charge against the Cardinal de Retz, though very heavy, is something lighter however than that of the Dutchess de Nemours *. And yet in the preface to the Duke's Memoirs, which comes from a very able hand, it is said, 'That that character is 'over-strained; and that if the Duke had said less a-'gainst the Prelate, the impartial readers might have be-'lieved more. I will not (says the author of the preface) 'enter into the justification of the conduct of the Co-'adjutor, who certainly suffered himself to be carried 'too far away by his passion after the Queen-Regent 'had dispised his offers and his advice, in a very trou-'blesome conjuncture, wherein his service might have 'proved very useful; but I shall do what truth re-'quires of me, if I say that his greatest crime was his 'being possessed of parts, and his having acquired a 'reputation, which gave umbrage to Cardinal Maza-'rin, whose fortune was then very tottering.' If this observation is of any weight, it will serve at least as well in respect to Madam de Nemours, as to Mr. de la Rochefaucaut.

The Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz that are published, going no farther than to the year 1655, we know but little concerning him, from that time till his return into France, except what we find at the latter end of Joli's Memoirs, which reach to the beginning of the year 1665. There is hardly any room to doubt but that the Cardinal has carried his further, and it were to be wished we had them perfect, it being likely that what is wanting would be no less instructive or diverting than what is extant. As Joli has, during that time, represented the Cardinal in the worst light, so does he use all endeavours to make him appear contemptible at his return into France. I leave it to his admirers, to shew us how that agrees with

* Page 25, 26, 27, 28, of her Memoirs.

what

what he is forced to own, of the eſteem he was in with the French miniſters, who deſired to have his opinion about an affair of the greateſt importance between the court * of France and that of Rome, and in which they followed exactly every ſtep they were adviſed to by him.

The Cardinal de Retz, after his leaving Rome, choſe rather to be ſix years and more an exile, living obſcurely, and flying from place to place to avoid the attempts made againſt his life by Cardinal Mazarin, than to come to an accommodation with the court of France, by reſigning his Archbiſhoprick ſo long as Mazarin lived. But he ſoon conſented to it after that miniſter's death; and notwithſtanding what Joli ſays, he was received in France by all honeſt men, except perhaps thoſe who were his profeſſed enemies, with all poſſible marks of joy and reſpect. I might bring here to juſtify this, if it were neceſſary, the teſtimony of Mr. Patru †, a gentleman of the greateſt probity and merit. The Cardinal had, however, no ſhare given him in the adminiſtration of affairs, being more feared than loved at court, by reaſon of his principles, which were known to be altogether againſt tyranny.

However great his inclination was to live ſplendidly, and though he enjoyed a great revenue, he retrenched, after his return into France, much of his expence, and reduced himſelf in ſome meaſure to mere neceſſaries, in order to pay his debts which amounted to three millions of livres ‡. I cannot, on this occaſion, omit mentioning ſome particulars taken notice of by Mr. Menage. 'Never (ſays he) any perſon of 'quality ſpent ſo much, or borrowed ſuch ſums and 'and repaid them ſo well as the Cardinal de Retz. At

* The inſult committed at Rome againſt the Duke de Crequi, the French King's Ambaſſador.

† An Advocate at the court of parliament of Paris, of whoſe works there are two volumes in print. He was an intimate friend of Boileau's, who would never publiſh any thing without his approbation. The letter which Mr. Patru wrote to the Cardinal on his return into France, will be inſerted at length in the laſt volume.

‡ At that time above 230,000l. Sterling.

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'his last going to Rome, he sent for all his creditors, 'and examining how much he owed them, he told 'them that he had but such a sum, which would be 'paid them at such a time, and for which a gen- 'tleman then present would be answerable. All his 'creditors complained at his making this apology, 'saying, that they did not come to ask for money, hav- 'ing still more at his service: and a lady among others 'rose up and offered him 50000 crowns, which she 'desired he would accept, to supply his wants upon 'his journey, and during his stay at Rome. The Car- 'dinal, amazed at the generosity of so many persons, 'expressed his gratitude for it; and turning towards a 'hatter that was with the rest; there is (says he) this 'poor hatter, to whom I am indebted a large sum, and I 'am ashamed that I am not able to satisfy him as I could 'wish, and as he deserves. Meaning me, my Lord, re- 'plied the hatter? It is true, I am but poor, but my 'good-will and my attachment to your person, are infe- 'rior to none of the rest. I ask for no money; and I have 'brought you three red hats, which I beseech your 'Eminence to take along with you. Every body was 'surprized at this piece of generosity in a tradesman, 'and the Cardinal could not forbear shedding tears at 'it, and returning thanks to God for disposing the 'hearts of so many different persons so favourable for 'him. The Cardinal's intentions have, since his 'death, been executed with a fidelity beyond ex- 'ample, and none of his creditors have lost any thing 'by him *.

I find in the French Advertisement, that some time before the Cardinal's death, the Pope wrote to him to have his sentiments about the qualifications requisite to make a good Cardinal, that he might thereby regulate his choice. The letter was full of expressions both of esteem and of trust, and 'tis said the Cardinal had be- gun that work. What we know to be true is, that he would have resigned his dignity of Cardinal to Pope Clement the Tenth, but that the Pope would not con-

* Vide Menagiana, vol. i. pag. 16, 17, 18.

sent

ſent to it. He retired however from the world, and ſpent the reſt of his days either in exerciſes of devotion, or with his books.

The Cardinal de Retz had for his preceptor the famous Vincent de Paul*. He was made a Canon of the church of Paris upon the third of December 1627, by his uncle John Francis de Gondi, who was the firſt Archbiſhop of Paris, that ſee being before but a Biſhoprick. He was before that time poſſeſſed of two Abbeys, that of Buzay, which he reſigned after his return into France, to one of the ſons of Mr. de Caumartin his friend; and that of Quimpercorentin, which he reſigned to the Abbot Charrier, who had been his conſtant attendant in all his diſgraces. He died at Paris in the Hôtel-de-Leſdiguieres, upon the 24th of Auguſt, 1679, aged 66, wanting one month and ſome days. And Madam de Sevigni, a Lady of quality and of the greateſt wit and merit, writing the next day to the Count de Buſſi Rabutin, expreſſes in this manner her grief for his death: 'Pity me couſin, for the loſs 'I have ſuſtained by the death of the Cardinal de 'Retz. You know how well he deſerved to be loved, 'and how worthy he was of the eſteem of all who 'knew him. I had been his friend for thirty years 'together, during which time he never failed to give 'me tender marks of his friendſhip, which was equally 'honourable and † *delightful* to me. No body in the 'world was of ſo eaſy a converſation as he. A con'tinual fever has taken away from me, in eight days 'time, that illuſtrious friend. I am touched at it to 'the bottom of my heart ‡.' I thought it not improper to inſert this letter here, becauſe it gives, in few words, a character of the Cardinal de Retz very different from that of Joli, and of the Dutcheſs de Nemours.

I think it neceſſary to take notice, that the fourth volume of the French edition contains ſeveral addi-

* He inſtituted the congregation of the Miſſionaries of St. Lazarous, of which he was made ſuperior.

† The French ſays *delicious*.

‡ Vide, Ruſſi Rabutin's letters, vol. IV. letter 44.

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tional pieces written by the Cardinal de Retz, and ſome others, which in the title page are ſaid to be of uſe towards the underſtanding the hiſtory of thoſe times. Of theſe I have tranſlated only the hiſtory of the conſpiracy againſt the republic of Genoa, written by the Cardinal; his letter to the College of Cardinals, during his impriſonment, and a letter to Cardinal Mazarin, concerning the Cardinal de Retz. As I thought none of the reſt would be either inſtructive or diverting to an Engliſh reader, I have endeavoured to ſupply their place with ſome other pieces relating more immediately to the Cardinal, and which I judge more uſeful and entertaining. Amongſt theſe there are ſome things extracted from, and ſome account given of the Memoirs of Madam de Motteville, which have been publiſhed ſince the following ſheets were ſent to the preſs.

After what has been ſaid of the general eſteem which theſe Memoirs have obtained, I believe that it will be thought a misfortune, by others as well as me, that there are ſo many chaſms or gaps to be found in them. The perſons poſſeſſed of the author's original copy, have without doubt had their reaſons not to let it ſee the light, but thus maimed and disfigured, ſo that we have no right to complain; though it were to be wiſhed that we had it more perfect. The beſt is, that moſt of thoſe chaſms are in the beginning of this work, which, I may venture to ſay, is not of equal worth with the reſt, though it might appear very diverting, were not the narration ſo often interrupted.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

To MADAM DE *****.

BOOK I.

MADAM,

WHATEVER reluctance I may have to give you the history of my life, which has been tossed about so many different ways, yet having your command to do it, I obey you even at the expence of my own reputation. It has been my fortune to have a fine varnish over many of my actions, and I am afraid that it will be thought ridiculous in me to take any of it off; yet, I am resolved to discover to you the most minute particulars of my life, from the time I began to know myself, and that, without the least reserve or disguise. I must desire you not to be surprised to find these Memoirs writ with so little art, and in so confused a manner; and to consider, that if in the several parts they are composed of, I sometimes break off the thread of the narration, yet I shall say nothing but with that sincerity which the esteem I have for your ladyship requires of me. It is for that reason that I have set my name at the head of this work, that I may be the more obliged to stick close to truth, without any addition or diminution. To be over vain or over modest, are the extremes into one of which the most part of them that have written their own lives could

not avoid falling. Mr. de Thou * has done it with ſucceſs in this latter age, by keeping a true medium between them; and it is what Cæſar had done before him, in what he has writ concerning himſelf. You do me, without doubt, the juſtice to think that I ſhould not have mentioned theſe great names in a ſubject that relates to myſelf, if ſincerity was not a virtue which we are permitted; nay more, commanded to attain to in as great a degree as any hero whatſoever.

I come of a family † eminent in France, and ancient in Italy. On my birth-day a ſturgeon, monſtrous for its ſize, was taken in a ſmall river that runs by the town of Montmirail in Brie, where my mother was brought to-bed of me ‡. I am far from thinking myſelf conſiderable enough to look upon this as an omen relating to my birth; I had not therefore mentioned this circumſtance, but the libels written ſince againſt me having taken notice of it, as of a thing preſaging the troubles of which ſome are pleaſed to make me the author, I fear that it might be looked upon as an affectation in me, ſhould I not mention it likewiſe.

* James-Auguſtus de Thou, preſident a Mortier in the parliament of Paris. Beſides the Hiſtory of his Time, from the year 1543 to 1608, which may be compared to the beſt hiſtories written in ancient times, he has left Commentaries, or Memoirs of his Life. There are eight preſidents à Mortier in the parliament of Paris, viz. the firſt preſident, and ſeven others. They have the firſt ſeats in that aſſembly; and what is called Mortier, is the mark of their dignity, which they formerly carried on their heads, and which they ſtill do upon extraordinary occaſions, but they now carry it commonly in their hands.

† The name of the family was Gondi; and his great grandfather, Anthony de Gondi, ſecond of the name, a gentleman of Florence (where that family is acknowledged by hiſtorians to have been of note for above 500 years) came into France, and ſettled at Lions, where he married (on the 20th of January, 1516) Catherine de Pierre Vive, governante of the French King's children, by whom he had three ſons; Albert, who was made Duke and peer, and Mareſchal of France; Charles, General of the gallies, &c. and Peter, who was Biſhop of Paris, and was made a Cardinal.

‡ In the month of October, 1614, he was chriſtened John-Francis-Paul, was betimes deſigned for the church, going at firſt by the name of the Abbot de Retz.

I told

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I told it Attichi, brother to the Countefs de Maure, and prayed him to make uſe of me the firſt time he drew his ſword. He was a man that often fought, and ſo my expectation was ſoon ſatisfied. He deſired me to challenge for him, Melbeville, enſign in the firſt company of guards, who made uſe for his ſecond of * Baſſompierre, the ſame that died ſince in great repute, a Major-general in the Emperor's ſervice. We fought with ſword and piſtol behind the Minime's convent of the Bois-de-Vincennes: I fought with Baſſompierre, and wounded him in the thigh with my ſword, and in the arm with my piſtol: but that did not prevent his making a paſs at me, and diſarming me, being older and ſtronger than I. We went together to part our friends, who were both much wounded. This made noiſe enough, but anſwered not what I expected from it. The attorney general began his inquiry, but put a ſtop to it at our friend's requeſt, ſo I remained with my caſſock notwithſtanding my duel.

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Her mother found it out, and gave notice of it to my father; ſo I was brought back to Paris with hurry enough. It was not my fault that I did not find ſome eaſe for her abſence with Madam du Chaſtelet. But that lady, who was engaged with † the Count d'Harcourt, treated me like a ſchool-boy, nay, made a public jeſt of me under that title, and in the preſence of the Count. I picked a quarrel with him upon that account, and challenged him at the playhouſe: we fought the next day beyond the ſuburb of St. Marcel; he made a paſs at me after his ſword had but juſt glanced upon my breaſt, and flung me down; ſo that all the advantage had infallibly been of his ſide, had

* Nephew to the Mareſchal of that name, who has writ The Memoirs of his Life.

† Henry of Lorrain, Count d'Harcourt, who was made maſter of the horſe in 1643.

not his sword slipt out of his hand in the struggle. I tried to shorten mine, and to stab him in the back; but being much older and stronger than me, he held my arm so fast under him that I could not compass my design. We remained some time in that posture, without hurting one another, when he said, 'Let us rise: 'it is not decent for us to box; you are a pretty young 'fellow whom I esteem, and I make no difficulty, as 'matters stand, to say that I gave you no manner of 'occasion to quarrel with me.' We agreed to tell the Marquis de Poilli, (who was his nephew, and my friend) how the matter past, but to hide it from the rest of the world, upon account of Madam du Chastelet. The keeping of this a secret was not what I was pleased with, but how could I have handsomely refused it? There was little said about this matter, which had not taken vent at all, but by the indiscretion of * Noirmoutier, who having learnt it of the Marquis de Poilli, told it a few others. However, no inquiry was made about it, and I still remained with my cassock and my two duels.

Give me leave, Madam, to reflect a little here upon the nature of the mind of man. I believe that there was not in the world a man of an uprighter heart than my † father; and I may say, that he was stampt in the very mold of virtue. Yet these duels and love intrigues did not hinder the good man from doing all he could to tie to the church, the soul in the world perhaps the least ecclesiastical. His ‡ predilection for his eldest son, and the view of the archbishoprick of Paris for me, were the true causes of his acting thus, though he neither believed it, nor felt it. I dare say that he

* Lewis de la Trimouille, Viscount of Thouars, Marquis, and afterwards Duke of Noirmoutier.

† Philip Emanuel de Gondi, Count de Joigni, General of the gallies of France, and Knight of the order of the Holy Ghost. He retired in the year 1640 amongst the fathers of the oratory, where he entered into holy orders, and where he died, with the reputation of a mighty pious man, on the 29th of June 1662, aged 81.

‡ First-born love.

thought,

thought, nay, would have ſworn, that he was led in all this by no other motive than the ſpiritual good of my ſoul, and the fear of the danger to which it might be expoſed in another profeſſion. So true it is, that nothing is more ſubject to deluſion than piety: all manner of errors creep and hide themſelves under that vail. Piety takes for ſacred all her imaginations, of what ſort ſoever; but the beſt intention in the world is not enough to keep it in that reſpect free from irregularity. In fine, after all that I have related, I remained a churchman: but certainly, I had not long continued ſo, if an accident had not happened, which I am now to acquaint you with.

* The Duke de Retz, the head of our family, broke, at that time, by the King's command, the marriage-treaty agreed upon ſome years before, between the Duke de Mercœur † and his eldeſt daughter. He came the very next day after to my father, and ſurpriſed him very agreeably, by telling him that he was reſolved to beſtow her on my elder brother, to reunite the two branches of the family. I knew that that lady had a ſiſter worth above fourſcore thouſand livres a year, which made me think on her at the ſame inſtant for a double alliance. Nobody elſe was like, as I knew matters to ſtand, to think on it for me, ſo I reſolved to provide for myſelf. I had ſome hint given me, that my father did not intend to take me to the wedding, foreſeeing likely enough what happened after. To make him alter his mind, I feigned to have altered mine, as to the profeſſion I was deſigned for. What had been repreſented to me ſo many times on that ſubject, ſeemed now to work deeply with me, and I acted my part ſo well, that every body thought me intirely changed. I expreſſed no manner of deſire of aſſiſting at the wedding, which was to be celebrated in

* Henry de Gondi, Duke of Retz, married the Dutcheſs of Beaupreau, by whom he had two daughters; Catherine, who married in 1633, her couſin Peter de Gondi, brother to the Cardinal; and Frances, married to Lewis de Coſſe, Duke of Briſſac.

† Lewis, eldeſt ſon to the Duke de Vendoſme, a natural ſon to Henry IV.

Britanny, and that helped to engage my father to take me thither along with the reſt. We found the ladies at Beaupreau in Anjou, and I looked upon the eldeſt only as a ſiſter; but, from the firſt moment, I looked on the other as on a miſtreſs. She appeared to me very beautiful, and with a moſt lively complexion: lilies and roſes were not wanting there, and for her eyes and mouth, nothing could be finer. She had ſome defect in her ſhape, but ſcarce obſervable, and beſides, much leſſened by the view of her fourſcore thouſand livres a year, by the hopes of the dutchy of Beaupreau, and by a thouſand chimeras that I formed on theſe foundations, which were real.

I played, in the beginning, my game mighty well. All the journey long I had appeared a devout churchman, and ſo I continued to do in public during the wedding: but with the lady I acted another part: I ſighed, and ſhe perceived it; afterwards I ſpoke, and was heard, though with a pretty ſevere air. I had obſerved that ſhe loved extremely a woman that waited on her, who was ſiſter to one of the monks of my abbey of Buzay. This made me uſe all poſſible means to bring this woman into my meaſures: one hundred piſtoles in hand, and promiſes without number, made her wholly mine. She inſinuated to the young lady that there was a deſign laid to ſhut her up in a nunnery, whilſt I was complaining to her of a like deſign upon me to make me a monk. The lady hated her eldeſt ſiſter mortally, becauſe ſhe was by much the moſt beloved of her father; and that ſame reaſon made me love my brother but moderately. This reſemblance in our fortunes was a great help to our union; ſo perſuading myſelf that her paſſion might equal mine, I reſolved to carry her into Holland, which was very eaſy for me to do, the place where we then were, being not above half a league diſtant from the ſea: but this expedition required money, and I had none; for the hundred piſtoles with which I had parted, had left me quite bare. I found means however to get enough, by repreſenting to my father, that the eccleſiaſtical laws binding me in the ſtricteſt manner, to take into

my

my hands the management of my livings, I thought myself obliged in conscience to follow that rule. This was not pleasing to him, but he could not refuse his consent to it, because I asked nothing but what was according to order; and because this proposal shewed, as if at least I designed to keep my livings, since I was so willing to have the management of them in my hands.

I went the very next day to farm out Buzay, which was but five leagues off from the place we then were at. I treated with a merchant of Nantes, named Jucatieres, who took advantage of the haste I was in, and who, by paying me four thousand crowns in hand, which were to me four millions, made a bargain that has since made his fortune. But as I was just ready to hire one of those Dutch fly-boats, that always are in the road of Retz, an accident happened that broke all my measures.

Mademoiselle de Retz (for the lady with whom I had the intrigue, had taken that name since her sister's marriage) had the finest eyes in the world; but they were never so fine as when they had a languishing air, and I never saw eyes which such an air gave so many graces to. One day that we dined at a lady's of the neighbourhood, there happened a scene before a looking-glass that stood at the bedside, which was unluckily perceived in the glass by Palluau, who has been since Mareschal of Clerambaut. Mademoiselle de Retz, who looked in the glass, shewed at that time all that the Morbidezza of the Italians has of most tender, most passionate, and most moving. Palluau, who had observed all, and who was much in the interest of the married sister, with whom he had been very conversant whilst she was a maid, failed not to tell her exactly all that he had seen; which he assured me since, could not be an original.

* Madam de Retz, who hated mortally her sister, told it the Duke her father the same evening, who likewise failed not to acquaint mine instantly with it.

* The married sister.

The poſt coming the next day, letters from Paris were ſaid to be preſſing for our going away. We took but a ſlight and a public leave of the ladies; and my father carried me to Nantes that ſame night. You may imagine how much this diſappointment ſurpriſed and vexed me; neither could I find out the cauſe of this ſudden departure. I had nothing to reproach myſelf with, and was far from gueſſing at the diſcovery which Palluau had made. At Orleans, I had reaſon to think that my deſign was found out; for there, my brother fearing that I ſhould make an eſcape, which I had ſeveral times attempted ſince our coming to Tours, ſeized upon the box where my money lay. This proceeding convinced me that I was diſcovered, and I arrived at Paris, as you may imagine, very ſorrowful.

There I found Equilly, uncle to Vaſsè, and my couſin-german, whom I dare aſſure to have been the gallanteſt man of his time: he was twenty years older than I, but loved me dearly for all that. I had acquainted him, before I went into Britanny, with my deſign of carrying away Mademoiſelle de Retz, and he had much approved of it, not only for the advantage which I was to reap by it, but becauſe he was perſuaded that that double alliance was neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing our family upon a firm foundation. The event, whereby our name is carried into a family * a ſtranger to ours, ſhews that he was not miſtaken. He now made me a freſh offer of aſſiſting me all he could in that deſign: he lent me twelve hundred crowns, which was all the ready money he had, and I borrowed three thouſand more of the Preſident Barillon. Equilly wrote to Provence for the pilot of his galley, he being a man of ſenſe, and fit for action. I communicated my deſign to the Counteſs de Saux, who has been ſince Dutcheſs of Leſdiguieres †.

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This name obliges me to interrupt the thread of my diſcourſe, for the reaſon which you will hereafter ſee.

* That of Villeroi.

† She was of the family of Gondi by the mother's ſide, and couſin-german to the Cardinal de Retz.

I picked

I picked a quarrel with Praſlin upon a trifle, and we fought in the Bois-de-Boulogne, having got looſe, but not without a great deal of pains, from thoſe who would have ſecured us. I received a conſiderable wound in the throat, and he no leſs a one in the arm. Meillancour, who was gentleman of the horſe to my brother, and my ſecond, had been wounded in the lower belly, and diſarmed, by the Chevalier du Pleſſis, Praſlin's ſecond; after which they came to part Praſlin and me, I omitted nothing to make this duel public, and had got men ready to have witneſſed it; but there is no oppoſing one's deſtiny, for there was not the leaſt information made about it.

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In that caſe, ſaid he, do you believe that a commerce with a woman of that ſort will not plunge you into the ſame inconveniencies, which the Archbiſhop of Paris *, your uncle, has fallen into, much more by his low inclinations than by the irregularity of his life? It is with churchmen as it is with women, who can preſerve no dignity in their amours but by the merit of their lovers. But where is the merit of Mademoiſelle de Roche, ſetting aſide her beauty? And is beauty a ſufficient excuſe for an Abbot, whoſe firſt pretenſion is the archbiſhopric of Paris? If you leave the gown for the ſword, as I believe you will, what are you not expoſed to, and where can you tell that you will be able to ſtop, with a woman of ſo ſhining a beauty? In ſix weeks time ſhe will ceaſe to be a child, and having her leſſon taught her by Epineville, who is an old fox, and by her mother, who ſeems not to want underſtanding, nobody knows how far ſhe may carry you.

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Cardinal Richlieu † hated, to the laſt degree, the Princeſs of Guimené, being perſuaded that ſhe had

* John Francis de Gondi, firſt Archbiſhop of Paris, that ſee being before but a biſhoprick.

† Armand-John Du Pleſſis, Cardinal de Richlieu, was born in 1585, and died in 1642.

traverſed his inclination for the young Queen *, and had had a hand in the ill turn done him by Madam du Fargis, a lady of her chamber when ſhe carried to Mary de Medicis, the Queen-mother, a love-letter which he had wrote to the Queen her daughter-in-law. This hatred of his had even obliged him, out of revenge, to deſire the Mareſchal de Brezé his brother-in-law, and captain of the life guards, to make public Madam de Guimené's letters to the Mareſchal of Montmorenci †, which were found in that Mareſchal's ſtrong box at Caſtel-Naudary, when he was there taken priſoner. But the Mareſchal de Brezé, out of a principle either of civility or honour, refuſed to do it, *at leaſt for that time* ‡. He was, however, but an odd ſort of a man. But Cardinal Richlieu, who formerly thought himſelf in ſome meaſure honoured by his alliance, and who feared him for his violent temper and his vaunting to the King, who had ſome ſort of inclination for him; the Cardinal, I ſay, thought fit to bear with him, that he might enjoy ſome quiet in his family, which he paſſionately wiſhed to eſtabliſh and unite. There was nothing which the Cardinal's power in France could not have brought to paſs, except that union; for the Mareſchal de Brezé had conceived ſo great an averſion againſt Monſieur de la Meilleraie §, then great maſter of the ordnance, and ſince Mareſchal of France, that he could not at all abide him. It was impoſſible for him to imagine how Cardinal Richlieu could beſtow one ſingle thought on ſuch a man as la Meilleraie, who was, it is true, his couſin-german by the mother's ſide, but who was himſelf born but of

* Ann of Auſtria, mother to Lewis XIV.

† Henry Duke of Montmorenci, was taken priſoner on the 1ſt of September, 1632, and had his head ſtruck off at Toulouze, in the month of November following.

‡ The French copy in this place, ſays, that the Mareſchal returned the letters to the lady, but the ſequel ſhews that it was not ſo.

§ Charles de la Porte, Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, who married his ſon to one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces, the famous Hortentia Mancini, ſo well known by the name of the Ducheſs of Mazarin.

ignoble

ignoble parents, a man of the loweſt mien, and of a merit, as he openly ſaid, but very ordinary.

The Cardinal thought otherwiſe of la Meilleraie. He believed him to be a man of courage, and he was in the right as to that. Indeed as for his military ſkill, the Cardinal had an over-great opinion of it, though la Meilleraie had a merit that way too, not to be deſpiſed. In fine, he deſigned him for the poſt, which the Mareſchal de Turenne has ſince held with ſo much honour.

What I have ſaid is enough to let you into the family-broils of the Cardinal, and to ſhew you how much it was his intereſt to have them appeaſed. He applied himſelf to it with much care, and he thought that the beſt way of bringing it about, was to reconcile the two gentlemen whom I have mentioned, and to unite them to him in a perfect confidence, which he had for no body but them two. They from that time became jointly the confidents of his love intrigues, which, to ſay the truth, were little anſwerable to the greatneſs of his actions, and to the luſtre in which he lived. For Marion de Lorme, who was little better than a proſtitute, was one of the objects of his amours, and him ſhe ſacrificed to Deſbarreaux *. Madam de Fruges, whom you ſee creeping into peoples cloſets, under the name of an old woman, was another. The firſt came to him in the night-time, but he went himſelf at night to the other, who was even then but the leavings of Buckingham and de L'Epienne. The two confidents, who had clapt up together a ſort of a peace, carried him thither in a livery, and Madam de Guimené was like to have been the victim of their pretended peace.

La Meilleraie, who was then great maſter of the ordnance, was fallen in love with her, but the love was not reciprocal of her ſide. As he was both by his nature, and by the favour he was in with the Cardinal, the moſt imperious man in the world, he took it heinouſly ill. He made his complaints, and the lady

* A noted atheiſt.

was not moved with them: he came to threats, and his threats were made a jeſt of. The reaſon it ſeems of his threatning was, that having railed bitterly at her with the Cardinal, this laſt had obliged the Mareſchal de Brezé to put into his hands the letters which I have mentioned. The Cardinal delivered them immediately to La Meilleraie, who did not fail to hint ſomething of it to the lady the next time they met. By this Madam de Guimené found that this was no longer a jeſting matter, at which ſhe became almoſt enraged. She fell into a melancholy that altered her ſo much, that ſhe was ſcarce to be known again, which obliged her to retire to Couperai, where ſhe would ſee no body.

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As ſoon as I had reſolved to ſet myſelf to ſtudy, I reſolved likewiſe to follow the ſteps which Cardinal Richlieu had trod in before; and though my neareſt relations approved not of it, being of opinion that it was a work fit only for pedants, I was not diſſuaded from it, but entered the liſts, and went on with ſucceſs; and all the perſons of quality of the ſame profeſſion, have thought fit ſince to go on in the ſame way. But as I was the firſt ſince the Cardinal, he ſeemed pleaſed with it, and that, joined to the good offices which the great maſter did me daily with him, made his eminence ſpeak favourably of me on two or three occaſions. He expreſſed an obliging ſort of wonder that I had never made my court to him, and went ſo far as to order M. de Lingendes, who has been ſince Biſhop of Mâcon, to bring me to him.

This was the cauſe of my firſt diſgrace with the Cardinal; for inſtead of regarding, as I ſhould, his firſt advances, and the great maſter's earneſtneſs to oblige me to make my court to him, I made uſe but of poor ſhifts to avoid it. I feigned myſelf ſick, I left the town for a while, and in ſhort I did enough to ſhew that I had no inclination to be a dependant on the Cardinal, who though otherwiſe a very great man, had, to the laſt degree, the weakneſs not to deſpiſe little matters, as he ſhewed on this occaſion. For the

hiſtory

hiſtory of John Lewis de Fieſque's conſpiracy, which I had wrote, when but eighteen years old, being ſlipt at that time out of the hands of Lauzieres, to whom I had intruſted it only to read, and being carried by Boiſrobert * to the Cardinal, this laſt ſaid in the hearing of the Mareſchal d'Eſtreés and of Senneterre, ſpeaking of me: 'This is a dangerous ſort of a man.' Senneterre told it the ſame evening to my father, and I took it as if it had been ſaid in my own hearing; ſo that what I had done before only by reaſon of Madam de Guimené's hatred to the Cardinal, I now continued in regard to my own ſelf.

The ſucceſs I had in the diſputations in the Sorbonne gave me ſome reliſh for that ſort of reputation. I tried to carry it on further, and flattered myſelf that I might venture upon preaching with hopes of a like ſucceſs. I was adviſed to begin at ſome convent of little note, to accuſtom myſelf by degrees to ſpeak in public; but I took a quite contrary courſe. I preached the Aſcenſion, the Penticoſt, and the Corpus Chriſti days at the little Carmelites, in the preſence of the Queen, and of all the Court. This confidence of mine drew from the Cardinal other words touching me, much of the ſame kind with thoſe I have repeated. For his Eminence being told that I had preached with applauſe; he anſwered, 'I do not think that the ſucceſs juſtifies the undertaking; I look upon him to be but a raſh young man.' You ſee by this that I had buſineſs enough upon my hands for one of two and twenty.

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The Count of Soiſſons †, who had taken a very great liking to me, and to whoſe ſervice and perſon I had very ſtrongly devoted myſelf, left Paris in the night-time, and made haſte to get into Sedan, being afraid of being taken up. He ſent for me about ten at night before his going away, and diſcovered his de-

* The Abbot of Boiſrobert, of the French academy, a kind of jeſter to the Cardinal.

† Lewis de Bourbon, Count of Soiſſons and of Clermont, Prince of the Royal Blood of France.

ſign

ſign to me. I did all I could to obtain the honour of accompanying him thither, but he forbid it me very expreſsly. He only truſted into my hands Vanbrock, a Fleming, that played upon the lute, and was the man in whom he confided moſt. He deſired me to hide him in my houſe, and not to let him go out but in the night-time. I performed that order with great exactneſs, and found out a place for Vanbrock to hide himſelf in, where none but the devil or a cat could have come at him. But he acted not his part ſo well, for he was diſcovered at the time that he had leave to go abroad, by the houſekeeper of the Hotel de Soiſſons, or at leaſt it is what I have all along ſuſpected; and I was much ſurpriſed one morning about ſix, to find my chamber filled with armed men, who had waked me by breaking open the door. The Provoſt de l' Iſle* came ſwearing to my bed-ſide, aſking me where Vanbrock was? I anſwered, that I believed he was at Sedan. At this he began to ſwear the more, and had every corner of the houſe and every bed ſearched. He threatened all my ſervants with the rack, but none of them except one could have diſcovered him any thing. As for the place where Vanbrock was hid, they could never find that out, and ſo they left my houſe very little pleaſed. You may well think that a mark of this nature coming from the court could not be called otherwiſe than a new affront. There immediately followed another. The time of taking the degrees in the Sorbonne was expired, and the ranks for every one were now to be fixed, that is, the whole body of the Sorbonne was to declare who had done beſt in their diſputations, which declaration is made with a great deal of ſolemnity. I had the vanity to pretend to the firſt place, and thought not fit to yield it to the Abbot de la Mothe Houdancourt, the preſent Archbiſhop of Auch, being certain that I had had ſome advantage over him in the diſputes.

* At Paris, the Provoſt of the Mareſchals of France, that is, the Judge acting under them, is called the Provoſt de l'Iſle.

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The Cardinal de Richlieu, who did that Abbot the honour of owning him for his kinſman, ſent the Grand-Prior de la Porte, his uncle, to recommend him to the Sorbonne. I behaved myſelf on this occaſion better than might have been expected from one of my age; for as ſoon as I knew what ſteps the Cardinal had taken, I went to M. de Raconis, Biſhop of Lavaur, deſiring him to tell the Cardinal, that being conſcious to myſelf of the reſpect I owed him, I had deſiſted from my pretenſion the moment I knew the intereſt which he took in that affair. The Biſhop came to me the next morning to acquaint me, that the Cardinal was altogether unwilling that the Abbot de la Mothe ſhould owe to my yielding, a rank which he thought could not be refuſed him upon account of his own merit.

I was provoked at this very much, and made no anſwer but by a ſmile and a low bow. This obliged me to purſue my point, and I carried it by 84 voices. The Cardinal, who would be maſter even in the meaneſt matters, was tranſported with anger at this, even to puerility. He threatned the Sorbonne to pull down what he had begun to build there, and this drew from him new expreſſions againſt me the ſharpeſt that can be imagined.

My whole family was alarmed at this. My father and my aunt de Magnelay *, who always ſided together; the Sorbonne, Remebrock, the Count de Soiſſons, my brother who left Paris that ſame night, Madam de Guimené, to whom they well ſaw how much I was attached; wiſhed all of them heartily that I would abſent myſelf and go into Italy. Accordingly thither I went, and I ſtaid at Venice till the middle of Auguſt; and it was not for want of indiſcretion in me that I was not there aſſaſſinated. I undertook for a paſtime to play the gallant with the Signora Vendramina, a noble Venetian lady, who was one of the handſomeſt women that could be ſeen. The Preſident de Maillé, our King's Ambaſſador at that place, who

* Marguerite-Claude de Gondi, married to Florimond d'Halluin, Marquis de Magnelay.

knew

knew the danger there was in that country, in thoſe ſorts of adventures, made me leave the town. I went round all Lombardy, and I arrived at Rome about the end of September. The Mareſchal d'Eſtrées, † who was our Ambaſſador there, inſtructed me in what manner I was to live in that court, and his advices prevailed with me. For though I did not deſign to ſtick to the church, I, however, thought fit to get a good name at the court of Rome, before whom I was to appear with a caſſock on. I executed, in every reſpect, that reſolution, and I left not behind me the leaſt ſhadow of any gallantry or debauchery. Nothing could be more modeſt than the dreſs I appeared in, and that modeſty in my own perſon was ſet of by the great expence I made; by a neat equipage and fine liveries, and by the attendance of ſeven or eight gentlemen, four of whom were Knights of Malta. I diſputed in the public ſchools there, which are not to be compared, as to learning, with our Sorbonne; and fortune was pleaſed ſtill to help to ſet me off. The Prince de Schemberg, Ambaſſador of Obedience from the Empire, ſent me word one day, as I was playing at Balon, in the Emperor Antoninus's Thermes, that I ſhould quit him the place. I bid his men tell him, that there was nothing which I had not done for his Excellency, if I had been aſked it in a civil way, but his meſſage importing a command, I was obliged to let him know, that I received no command from any Ambaſſador but the King my maſter's. But he ſtill inſiſted, and ſending word a ſecond time, by one of his men, for me to be gone, I was obliged to put myſelf in a defenſive poſture. The Germans, I believe, more out of contempt for the few men whom I had with me, than moved by any other conſideration, carried the matter no farther. This oppoſition of an Abbot, who ſeemed ſo modeſt, to an Ambaſſador, who never went abroad without one hundred Horſe-Muſqueteers for his guard, made a great noiſe at Rome, and ſo great,

† Francis-Annibal, Duke of Eſtrees, Peer and Mareſchal of France.

that

that Roze, whom you now ſee Secretary of the King's Cloſet, and who was that day in the Thermes with me, was ſince heard to ſay, that Cardinal Mazarin was ſtruck at it when he firſt heard it, and ſpoke of it to him ſeveral times after.

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Cardinal Richlieu began to grow weaker in health, whereby ſome poſſibility was opened for my pretenſions to the Archbiſhoprick of Paris. The Count de Soiſſons, who had received ſome impreſſions of devotion in his retreat at Sedan, and who made ſome ſcruple of enjoying, under the names of Cuſtodi-nos, above 100,000 livres a year in benefices, had writ to my father, that as ſoon as an occaſion ſhould offer, to make the court conſent to it, he would reſign them to me. All theſe conſiderations joined together, though they could not make me entirely quit the reſolution of leaving off the gown, yet were ſtrong enough to ſuſpend it. What they worked in me went ſtill further, for I reſolved never to leave it off, but to ſome purpoſe, and by ſome actions of note, which finding neither near nor certain, I reſolved to ſignalize myſelf all manner of ways in my profeſſion. I begun with a very ſtrict retreat, I ſpent almoſt the whole day at my ſtudies, I ſuffered but few people to come near me, and I left off almoſt all manner of commerce with women, except with Madam de Guimené.

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Juſt a fortnight before this adventure the devil had appeared to the Princeſs de Guimené *, which he often did by the conjurations of Mr. d'Andilly †, who, I believe, brought about that apparition, for no other end than to fright his votary, with whom he was fallen in love, even more than I, but purely in a godly and ſpiritual manner. I conjured, on my ſide, ano-

* Ann de Rohan, married to Lewis de Rohan, Prince de Guimene, her couſin-german.

† Robert Arnaud d'Andilli, brother to the famous M. Arnaud, Dr. of Sorbonne.

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ther devil, under a more benign and more agreeable form; and after about six weeks stay at Port-Royal, whither she now and then retreated, but more out of humour than devotion, I got her away from thence. I continued to pay my respects to her, with great assiduity, and by that and some other diversions, I charmed the uneasiness which, whether I would or no, my profession nursed up in my heart. But this charm was like to have brought forth a hurricane that would have altered the face of things in Europe, if it had pleased fate to have joined hands with me.

Cardinal Richlieu loved to rally others, but he could not bear to be rallied himself, which is always a certain sign of a very sour and peevish humour. He displayed this humour at the Queen's circle against Madam de Guimené, and every body observed that it was me whom he meant in his sour jest. She was enraged at it, and I, more than she; for we had established a kind of intimacy one with another, which indeed was often interrupted by quarrels, though at the bottom our interests were the same.

About this time, Madam de la Meilleraie, * *whom silly as she was, I was fallen in love with*, touched Cardinal Richlieu's heart, to that degree, that the Marechal, her husband, had taken notice of it, even before he went to the army. He had teazed her about it, enough to make her believe, at first, that his jealousy was greater than his ambition. She feared her husband strangely, and did not love the Cardinal, who, indeed, by marrying her to his cousin, had stripped the house she came from, which she idolized †. Besides, the Cardinal's infirmities made him still older than he naturally was; and I may add as a truth, that having nothing of the pedant, in other respects, he was altogether one in what related to gallantry. I had learnt the particular circumstances of his first addresses to her,

* This line in Italick is not writ with the Cardinal de Retz's own hand.

† Her name was Mary de Cosse, and she was daughter to Francis de Cosse, Duke of Brissac.

which

which were ridiculous enough: but having carried his courtſhip ſo far, as to oblige the lady to make long ſtays at Ruel, ‡ where he commonly ſojourned, I foreſaw that the ſplendour which accompanies favour would quickly turn the Lady's little head-piece, and that the Mareſchal's jealouſy would ſoon give way to his intereſt, which was not indifferent to him, and to his fondneſs for the court which he carried even to dotage.

I was in the firſt heat § *of this new paſſion, and I took ſuch pleaſure in imagining that I was like to triumph over the Cardinal even in ſuch a field as the Arſenal, that I felt a ſecret rage poſſeſs me,* when I was convinced that the change which I had foreſeen was come to paſs. The huſband conſented to the viſits which his lady made at Ruel, and the lady put me off now with nothing but ſtories which had often the appearance of untruths. In ſhort, the reaſons which I had, jointly with Madam de Guimené, to be enraged at the Cardinal; this jealouſy about Madam de la Meilleraie; the averſion that I had for my profeſſion; all theſe cauſes uniting together in ſo fatal an inſtant, were like to have produced one of the greateſt events that that age had ſeen.

La Rochepot, my couſin-german * and intimate friend, belonged to the Duke of Orleans, and was extremely in his confidence. He hated Cardinal Richlieu cordially, both becauſe he was ſon to my aunt Du Fargis † whom that miniſter had perſecuted even to the expoſing of her in effigies, and becauſe the ſame miniſter, who held ſtill La Rochepot's father priſoner

‡ A country-houſe of the Cardinal's, at three leagues diſtance from Paris.

§ There are in the original ſeven lines ſcratched out, in the room of which, what is here in Italick, has been put.

* The Cardinal de Retz's father had married Marguerite de Silly, eldeſt daughter of Anthony Count de Rochepot.

† Wife to the Count du Fargis, la Rochepot's father, who had been for a long time ambaſſador at the court of Madrid. She was a lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen, and had been in all the intrigues againſt Cardinal Richlieu, by whom ſhe was mortally hated.

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in the Baſtile, had refuſed his conſent for the regiment of Champagne, which the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, out of a particular eſteem for my couſin's valour, had aſked for him. You may imagine what ſort of panegyricks we often made on the Cardinal, when we were together, and in what manner we ſpoke of the Duke of Orleans's weakneſs, which had obliged him to come back ſhamefully from Blois to the court, after he had perſuaded the Count de Soiſſons to leave the kingdom and retire to Sedan, upon his ſolemn promiſe of joining him there himſelf.

My reſentment againſt the Cardinal for the cauſes which I have mentioned, being as great as thoſe which La Rochepot had reaſon to entertain for the injuries done both to himſelf and his family, it was an eaſy matter for us to agree in the ſame thoughts. Theſe thoughts were to make uſe of the Duke of Orleans's * fears, to bring to paſs now what was like to have been done before at Amiens by the courage of thoſe that were of his family. It is neceſſary that I ſhould ſpeak a word of that enterprize, for your better underſtanding what I have to ſay.

The Spaniards being entered into Picardy in the year 1635, under the command of Prince Thomas of Savoy †, and of Picolominy, the King went thither in perſon, and took along with him the Duke of Orleans, his brother, for general of his army, and the Count de Soiſſons for lieutenant-general. Both the Duke and the Count were on very ill terms with the Cardinal, who beſtowed thoſe employments upon them through mere neceſſity, becauſe the Spaniards, who threatened the heart of the kingdom, were already maſters of Corbie, la Capelle, and le Caſtelet. As ſoon as the enemies were retired to the Low Countries, and that the King had retaken Corbie, it was not doubted but that means would be thought on to ruin the Count de Soiſſons, who had given great cauſes of

* Gaſton of France, Duke of Orleans, brother to K. Lewis XIII.

† Thomas-Francis of Savoy, Prince of Carignan, third ſon to Charles-Emanuel, Duke of Savoy.

jealouſy

jealousy to the minister, by his courage, his winning manners, and the great expence he made. Another crime of the Count's was, his being in so great an intimacy with the Duke of Orleans; but the greatest crime of all, and indeed a capital one, was his refuseing to marry Madam d'Aiguillon, the Cardinal's niece. It was at that time that l'Epinay, Montresor ‡ and la Rochepot, did all they could to work the Duke of Orleans's fears to the resolution of dispatching the Cardinal, whilst St. Ibal, Varicarville, Bardouville, and Beauregard (father to that Beauregard that is now with me) were persuading the same thing to the Count de Soissons. The thing was resolved on, but was not executed. They had the Cardinal in their hands at Amiens, but did not touch him: I never knew the reason why. I have heard every one of them speak of it, and they all laid the fault upon one another; in short, I could never come to the truth of that matter. But what is most true is, that as soon as they were come to Paris, they all of them were seized with fear. The Count de Soissons*.... retired to Sedan, of which the Duke de Bouillon || was then sovereign prince. The Duke d'Orleans went to Blois; and my brother, who was not of the enterprize at Amiens, but who was much in the Count de Soissons's interest, went post from Paris in the night, and got safe into Belle-Isle †. The King sent to Blois the Count de Guiche, who is now the Mareschal de Grammont, and Chavigni §, secretary of state, in whom the Cardinal altogether confided. They frighted the Duke of Orleans back to Paris, where his fright rather increased; for those that belonged to him, that is, those that were not bribed by the court, found no better means

‡ Montresor gives the whole account of this conspiracy, in his Memoirs, which are very curious.

* There are here two lines scratched out.

|| Frederick-Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne, Prince of Sedan.

† An island upon the coast of Britanny, belonging at that time to the family of Retz.

§ Leon Bouthillier, son to Claude Bouthillier, superintendant of the finances.

to

to make him look to his own safety, or rather to theirs, than to increase his fears, that thereby they might work the better upon him. It was from this proneness to fear in him, that both la Rochepot and I judged it possible for us to cast him headlong into our design. The expression is very irregular, but I can find no other that paints better the Duke's character of mind. Nothing escaped his thoughts, but nothing could move his will; or if by chance he was moved to will any thing, the difficulty was to bring that will to action, which could not be done but by pushing of him on, or rather, as I have said, by casting him headlong into the execution of what he but faintly willed.

La Rochepot had tried him all manner of ways, but being answered with nothing but with put-offs, and with the impossibility which he found in all the means he proposed, he at last thought of a way which certainly was hazardous, though by a fate common enough to extraordinary actions, it was much less so than it appeared.

The Cardinal was to stand god-father to Mademoiselle*, who you may imagine had been baptized long before, but the ceremonies of the church had not been performed. He was, for that purpose, to have come to the dome where Mademoiselle lodged, and the christening was to be celebrated in the chapel there. La Rochepot's project was, to continue at every instant to show the Duke the necessity of dispatching the Cardinal, but to speak with a greater reserve than ordinary about the means of doing it, that thereby the thing might be kept the more secret; that that matter therefore was to be talked of only in general terms, to inure the Duke to the fact, and to have an excuse ready after the fact done, by saying that it was not concealed from him; that he had given us several proofs that he could not be served but after that manner, as himself had owned several times to la Rochepot: that we had therefore nothing to do, but to

* Ann-Mary Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Orleans by his first wife, Mary de Bourbon, Dutchess of Montpensier.

make

make choice for our associates of some bold men, stout enough for the action: to have relays posted upon the road to Sedan, under some pretence or other, and then to execute the thing in the chapel at the christening, in the name of the Duke of Orleans, and in his presence: that there was no doubt but that the Duke would own the fact with all his heart after it was done, and then it would be easy for us to carry him to Sedan on our relays, at a time when the dejection of the subministers, and the joy which the King was like to have for his being rid of his tyrant, would put the court rather upon an inquiry into his male-administration, than upon revenging his death. This was la Rochepot's project, which was far from being impracticable; and I was much more sensible of its possibility when it was near being executed, than I had been at first by the single view which I had taken of it in my mind.

I had blamed, perhaps, a hundred times, in discourse with la Rochepot, the inaction of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Count de Soissons, at Amiens. Yet I must own, that I found myself just in the same case; that is, that upon the point of executing a thing which I had myself renewed the thoughts of in la Rochepot, I felt something within me that might be taken for fear, though I took it only for a scruple. I am not positive which of the two it was, but it is certain, that my imagination brought into my mind an unpleasant view of the assassination of a priest, and of a Cardinal. La Rochepot laughed at me for it, saying, 'When you are in the army, you will beat up 'no enemy's quarters, for fear of killing people in 'their sleep.' This shamed me out of my reflection: I embraced the crime which appeared to me consecrated by great examples, and made justifiable and honourable by the danger. We concerted our matters together, and came to a resolution. I engaged in our enterprize that same evening Launoy, whom you see now at court under the name of Marquis de Piennes. La Rochepot made sure of la Frette, of the Marquis de Boisi, and of l'Etourville, whom he knew to be in the

the Duke of Orleans's intereſt, and incenſed to the laſt degree at the Cardinal. We prepared all our matters, and looked on the execution as ſure. The danger indeed was great, but we might reaſonably enough expect to overcome it, becauſe the Duke's guards which were within the place, had certainly taken our part againſt the Cardinal's, which could be but at the gate: but fortune, ſtronger than his guards, ſaved him from our attempt; for either he, or Mademoiſelle, I remember not preciſely which, fell ſick at that time. The chriſtening was put off, and ſo no opportunity was given us. The Duke went back to Blois, and the Marquis de Boiſi declared that he would never inform againſt us, but that it was now impoſſible for him to be any longer in the plot, becauſe that juſt at that time he happened to receive ſome ſort of favour from the Cardinal.

When all is done, this enterprize, which had got us a mighty reputation had it ſucceeded, never pleaſed me. Not that I look upon it with the ſame concern, I do on the two faults * againſt morality of which I had before been guilty, as I have mentioned to you: but yet, I wiſh with all my heart that I had never been in that plot. Old Rome indeed had cried it up; but it is not upon actions of that ſort that my eſteem for old Rome is grounded. You ſee, Madam, what ſenſe of gratitude I have for the deſire you have expreſſed to be informed of all my actions; for I cannot help giving you a faithful account even of my thoughts, and I take an incredible pleaſure to rake them all up from the moſt ſecret receſſes of my ſoul, that I may ſet them in view before you, and ſubmit them to your judgment.

To be in a plot is often a mark of folly; but nothing is more likely to make a man wiſe, at leaſt for a time, than to have been in one. The reaſon is, that the danger ſtill ſubſiſts after the opportunity is loſt, which requires more prudence and circumſpection than ordinary in one's behaviour.

* We find in the foregoing ſheets no mention made of theſe faults, which muſt therefore have been ſpoken of in the chaſms we have met with.

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The Count de la Rochepot finding that our enterprize had failed, retired for seven or eight months to Commercy, which belonged to him: the Marquis de Boisi went into Poitou, to the Duke de Rouanez, his father; Pienne, la Frette, and l'Etourville, went to their several seats; and as for myself, I was kept in Paris by the ties I had there, but I lived so close, and with such moderation, that I spent my whole time at my studies; or, when I sometimes appeared abroad, it was with a decorum suitable to a clergyman. In short, we all behaved ourselves with so much caution, that nothing of what we had plotted ever came to light in Cardinal Richlieu's life-time, though no minister has ever had better spies. It was by the imprudence of la Frette and of l'Etourville, that it took vent after his death: I call it an imprudence, because nothing can be more against prudence, than to make one's self be thought capable of actions, of which the examples are to be feared.

The declaration which the Count de Soissons put out some time after, brought us out of our holes, and the sound of his trumpets gave us a new life. But here it is necessary to go a little back into that affair.

I have already told you that that Prince retired to Sedan, for no other reason than to be secure there, which he could not be at court. He wrote a letter from thence to the King, as soon as he arrived there: he assured him of his loyalty, and promised him to do nothing against his service, during his stay in that place *. It is certain, that for a long while he kept strictly to his word: he was not moved by all the offers that were made him both by the Spaniards and the Emperor: he rejected, even with anger, the counsels of St. Ibal, and of Bardouville, who would have persuaded him to be stirring. Campion, who belonged to him, and whom he had left at Paris to solicit the affairs which he might have at court, acquainted me by his master's order with every thing that passed. I remember, among other matters, a letter that the Count had writ to him, which

* He had the King's leave to stay, and the Duke de Bouillon had leave to harbour him there.

he ſhewed me, and in which I read theſe very words: 'The perſons whom you well know, omit nothing to 'oblige me to treat with the enemies. They tax me 'with weakneſs, becauſe I dread the examples of 'Charles of Bourbon*, and of Robert of Artois†.' The Count had charged Campion to ſhew me this letter, and to deſire my opinion about it. I immediately took pen in hand, and added this word to Campion's anſwer: 'As for my part, I tax the ſame perſons with 'folly.' This happened the very day I left Paris to go into Italy; and here I think fit to give you my reaſons for being of that opinion.

The Count de Soiſſons had that ſtoutneſs of heart, which is commonly called valour, in the greateſt degree poſſible; but had not, even in the leaſt degree, that ſtrength of mind which is called reſolution. The firſt is common, even among the vulgar: the ſecond is not only uncommon, but is even more ſo than can eaſily be imagined; and yet, ſtrength of mind is much more neceſſary for great actions than ſtoutneſs of heart. And what greater action is there, and that requires greater parts, than to make one's ſelf the head of a party? The conduct of an army requires leſs ſkill by much, as depending upon fewer wheels. There are indeed more wheels to manage in the conduct of a ſtate; but thoſe wheels are far from being ſo nice or eaſy to break as thoſe of a party are. In ſhort, I am perſuaded that greater parts are required for the forming a good head of a party, than for the forming the ruler of a great empire; and that among the great qualifications required, ſtrength of mind, or what is called reſolution, goes hand in hand with that ſort of judgment, which is to be found only in heroic minds,

* Charles the third Duke of Bourbon, Conſtable of France, killed at the ſiege of Rome, the 6th of May 1527.

† Robert, ſon of Philip of Artois, who being ſupplanted in that country by his aunt, ſupported by Philip de Valois, King of France, called over Edward III. King of England. He received ſeveral wounds at the ſiege of Vannes in Britanny, and died in London in 1343.

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that can diſtinguiſh between things extraordinary and things impoſſible.

The Count had not one ſingle grain of the ſort of judgment I mean, which indeed is rarely to be found even in perſons of the greateſt wit. That of the Count was but of the middle ſize, which made him apt to diſtruſt people unjuſtly; and of all characters, that of a diſtruſtful man is the moſt directly oppoſite to a good head of a party. For the qualification the moſt requiſite in the head of a party, and which is the ofteneſt, and the moſt indiſpenſably to be practiſed, is to conceal always, and in many occaſions even to ſuppreſs the beſt grounded ſuſpicions.

This was the cauſe which made me diſagree with thoſe that were adviſing the Count to begin a civil war. Varicarville, who was the man of the beſt ſenſe, and the leaſt paſſionate of all the perſons of quality whom he had with him, has told me ſince, that when he ſaw what I had writ in Campion's letter, he immediately gueſſed what moved me to it, and what made me write in a manner ſo oppoſite to my own inclination.

It was more by Varicarville's wiſe management, than by the Count's own reſolution, that he reſiſted all that year and all the next the Spaniards inſtances, and his own people's importunities. But nothing could defend him againſt Cardinal Richlieu's unquietneſs; for that miniſter, in the King's name, put him every day upon anſwering queſtions very unpleaſant to him. It would be too long to enter into all the particulars, and it is enough for me to tell you, that the Cardinal, contrary to his intereſt, hurried the Count on to the civil war, by cavilling with him in a manner, which thoſe whom fortune has favoured to a certain point never fail to uſe againſt the wretched.

The minds of people, then, beginning to be more incenſed than ordinary, I was ordered by the Count de Soiſſons to take a ſecret journey to Sedan. There I ſaw him in the night, in the caſtle where he lodged, and I ſpoke to him in the preſence of the Duke de Bouillon, and of St. Ibal, Bardouville, and Varicarville. The reaſon of my being ſent for, was the

Count's desire to be informed by word of mouth, and in a more particular manner than could be done by a letter, of the state Paris was then in. The account I gave him of it could not but be very pleasing to him. I told him, and spoke nothing but the truth, that he was beloved, honoured, adored there, when his enemy was there both feared and abhorred. The Duke de Bouillon, who was altogther for a civil war, took that opportunity to magnify the advantages that were to accrue from it. St. Ibal backed the Duke with all his power, and Varicarville opposed both the Duke and him with no less vigour.

I thought myself too young to give my opinion, but the Count would not suffer me to remain silent: whereupon, I took the liberty to represent to him, that indeed a Prince of the blood ought rather to chuse a civil war than to act beneath either his reputation or his dignity, but that I knew of no other consideration but these two, that might reasonably engage him into action; for whenever he is drawn into it by any other motive, he thereby exposes both his reputation and his dignity; that it seemed to me that he was far from being pressed to enter into action by either of those causes; that by his retreat into Sedan, he had secured himself from the low steps which the court would have engaged him in, one of which was to take but the left hand, even in the Cardinal's own house; that the hatred which that minister had incurred, made the public look upon the Count, even in his retreat, as a fitter subject for their love, which is always much better secured by keeping quiet than by stirring, because in this latter case, all the glory depends upon success, which nobody can be sure of; whereas the reputation which is acquired by keeping quiet, when there is no necessity to stir, is always secure, being grounded upon the peoples settled aversion for the minister: that my opinion therefore was, that it would be more creditable for the Count to keep himself up by his own strength and merit, and by a prudent and wise conduct in the eyes of all Europe, against the artifice of so potent a minister as Cardinal Richlieu was, than to kindle a

war which nobody knew what might be the event of; that it was true that the minister was abhorred, but that however, I did not think that that abhorrence was arrived to that certain pitch, the time of which must be exactly nicked for undertaking great revolutions; that the Cardinal's health began to receive many shocks, which, if some one of them did not help to carry him off, the Count however would reap the advantage from it, of convincing the King and the public, that being as considerable as he was, by his birth, and the important post of Sedan *, nothing but his love for the public good and tranquillity could have obliged him to stifle his private resentments; and that in case the Cardinal should grow better in health, one might be certain that the hatred against his power would increase the more, and that the abuse which he would not fail to make of that power, would infallibly offer fitter occasions for stirring, than the present ones.

It was much in this manner that I spoke to the Count, who seemed moved at what I said: but the Duke de Bouillon was angry at me for it. He told me in a kind of bantering tone: 'Your blood is very cold 'for so young a man.' To which I answered in these very words: 'All the Count de Soisson's friends, Sir, 'are so much obliged to you, that they ought to bear 'with any thing you say: but nothing but that consi- 'deration can keep me at present from thinking that 'you may not always be within your own walls.' This brought the Duke de Bouillon to a better temper: he used me with all the civility possible, and in such a manner, that from that moment our friendship took its beginning. I stayed two days longer at Sedan, during which the Count altered five times his resolution, and St. Ibal † owned to me twice, that one could hardly hope any thing good from a man of that humour. The Duke de Bouillon fixed him at last. Don Miquel de

* A strong town upon the frontiers of Luxemburgh, and upon the river Maes.

† Montresor, who was his cousin-german, calls him St. Ibar, and says, that he was a man of high designs, and an enemy to tyranny.

Salamanque, the King of Spain's miniſter, was ſent for. My charge was to gain people in Paris; for which effect I was to receive a ſum of money, and I came back from Sedan with more diſpatches than would have ſufficed to have brought two hundred people to the ſcaffold.

I had nothing to reproach myſelf with in all this affair; for what I had ſaid was certainly right, the true intereſt of the Count being to decline the undertaking of a thing that was above his capacity, ſo that I might with reaſon conſult now my own intereſt, which agreed altogether with this enterprize. I hated my profeſſion more than ever. I was at firſt thrown into it by my friends prepoſſeſſion, and was kept in it both by the ties of duty, and the allurements of pleaſure. But now I found myſelf faſtened in a manner, that it was hardly poſſible for me to get looſe: I was paſt five and twenty, which age I eaſily conceived was too far advanced to carry a muſket for the firſt time. What grieved me moſt was, my reflecting that there had been times, when by my too ſtrong inclination for pleaſure, I had myſelf faſtened the bands, with which againſt my will, fortune had been pleaſed to tie me to the church. You may imagine by the melancholic reflections which this ſtate of life had often brought to my mind, with what pleaſure I found in this preſent poſture of affairs a door open, whereby I might not only with decency, but with glory, quit my profeſſion. I conſidered by what means I might diſtinguiſh myſelf in this enterprize; I found them out, and followed them. You will ſee by the ſequel that nothing but fate could break my meaſures.

The Mareſchals de Vitri* and de Baſſompierre, the Count de Cramail, Monſieur du Fargis, and du Coudrai-Monpenſier, had been for a long while, and were ſtill, priſoners in the Baſtile, upon ſeveral accounts. And as it is uſual for priſoners to be better uſed after ſome time than at firſt, the gentlemen whom I have

* The ſame that killed the Mareſchal d'Ancre. He had been governor of Provence, but he loſt that government, and was put into the Baſtile, for having caned the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, Admiral of the Gallies.

mentioned

mentioned had now all manner of civility shewed them, nay had a great deal of liberty allowed them. Their friends had leave to see them sometimes, and to dine with them. By Monsieur du Fargis's means, who had married a sister of my mother's, I was become acquainted with the other gentlemen, and by conversing with them, I had observed dispositions in some of them, which gave occasion to some reflections I made. The Mareschal de Vitri was a man of little sense, but he was daring even to temerity, and the choice that was made of him to kill the Marshal d'Ancre, had given him in the world, tho' to my thinking very unjustly, a certain air of business as well as execution. I had found him much exasperated at the Cardinal, which made me think, that in this juncture he would not be unuseful. I thought not fit however to address myself directly to him. I chose rather to sound the Count de Cramail*, who was a man of understanding, and who governed the Mareschal de Vitri. He understood me at half a word, and the first thing he asked me was, whether I had discovered any thing to our other friends in the Bastile? I replied without hesitation, 'No, Sir, 'and I'll frankly tell you the reason why: the Mare-'schal de Bassompierre prates too much: I can rely 'upon the Mareschal de Vitri only by your means: 'du Coudrai I dare not trust much; and my good 'uncle du Fargis is an honest brave man, but has but 'a shallow head.' 'Who do you confide in in Paris,' said the Count at the same time? 'In no body, Sir, 'replied I, but in yourself.' 'Very well,' said he hastily, 'you are my man: I am above four 'score, you are but five and twenty: I shall temper 'you, and you will heat me.' Upon this foot we began to work and lay our plan, and when I left him he spoke these very words: 'Give me eight days, af-'ter which I shall speak more precisely; and I hope

* Of the house of Montluc. He had been much courted formerly by the Cardinal to be his friend; but the Count joining to the cabal formed against him, was clapped into the Bastile, where he remained for many years.

'to convince the Cardinal, that I am good at some 'other thing than writing of books.' This he said in relation to a book he had published, which the Cardinal made a great jest of, and which was indeed but a very poor performance. You may wonder that in such an enterprize as this, I made choice of prisoners for my associates; but the nature of the thing shews, that I could not have addressed myself better, as you shall now see.

Just eight days after, I failed not to go to the Bastile, where I dined with the Count de Cramail, at the Mareschal de Bassompierre's, who immediately after dinner went to cards with Madam de Gravelle, another prisoner, and old du Tremblai*, governor of the Bastile, by which means Count Cramail and I were without the least suspicion left alone together. We went upon the terras, and there after the Count had thanked me for my confiding in him, and given me many assurances of his willingness to serve the Count de Soissons, he spoke to me in this manner: 'Nothing but the sword 'or Paris can rid us of the Cardinal. If I had been 'of the enterprize at Amiens, I had not done, or at 'least I flatter myself to think so, like those that miss-'ed there their aim. I am of this present enterprize, 'which in my opinon cannot fail, having well con-'sidered on it: here is what I haved added to our last 'plan.' At this he slipt a paper into my hands, written on both sides, of which this is the substance: 'That 'he had communicated the thing to the Mareschal de 'Vitri, whom he had found as ready as possible to 'serve the Count de Soissons; that they both war-'ranted as sure their rendering themselves masters of 'the Bastile, where the whole garrison was at their 'command; that they likewise warranted their seiz-'ing on the Arsenal. That the moment that the news 'should come of the Count's winning a battle, they 'would declare themselves, provided I should first 'make good my word given to the Count de Cramail,

* Brother to the famous Capuchin, Father Joseph, Cardinal Richlieu's great confident.

'which

'which was, that they should be supported by a considerable number of officers of the trained-bands at Paris.' That paper contained besides several observations on the particular conduct which was to be observed in this enterprize, and even many advices relating to the Count's own conduct. What I admired most was, with how much facility these gentlemen might have performed what they had undertaken.

You may be sure that the knowledge I had of the disposition of things in the Bastile, which I had gained by my often visiting the prisoners, had made me look upon that undertaking of theirs at least as feasible, since it came into my head to address myself to them. But I must own that after I had examined the plan of the Count de Cramail, who was a man of great experience, and of extreme good sense, I found myself in a maze to see prisoners that could dispose of the Bastile with the same ease that a governor could dispose of a place of which he is altogether master.

I well knew of what weight all extraordinary circumstances are in popular commotions, which made me think that this being most extraordinary in its kind, would work to admiration on the minds of the citizens of Paris, as soon as it should break out. But I knew besides, that nothing gives a greater life or support to an enterprize, than the ridicule to which those against whom it is acted expose themselves, and I saw how easy it would be to turn entirely into ridicule the conduct of a minister that could suffer prisoners to put themselves in a condition to crush him in a manner with their fetters.

I stood not idle after this, but went on with other people. I opened the matter to the late M. d'Estampes, president of the Grand Council*, and to M. l'Ecuyer,

* A Sovereign Court, composed of eight Presidents, all of them Masters of Requests, and of fifty-four Counsellors, who serve for six months by turns. A Sovereign Court, or jurisdiction, is an assembly of Judges, who have received from the King, or Prince, a power of determining without appeal, all suits at law arising among their subjects. There are five of those Sovereign Courts at Paris, viz. the Parliament, the Chamber of Accounts, the Court of Aids, the Grand-council, and the Court of the Mint.

who is now the eldeſt counſellor of the Chamber of Accounts*. They both were Colonels of the Trained-bands, and in much credit with the citizens, and I found them both to be ſuch as the Count de Soiſſons had deſcribed them to me, that is, altogether devoted to his intereſt, and fully perſuaded that the ſtirring of the people was not only poſſible but even eaſy. I muſt deſire you here to obſerve, that thoſe two gentlemen were but meanly capacitated, even in things relating to their own profeſſion, and beſides were perhaps the two perſons in the whole kingdom of the moſt pacific nature. But there are fires that will inflame the cooleſt bodies; the main is to know the moment, that you may make uſe of them.

I was ordered by the Count de Soiſſons to open myſelf in Paris only to thoſe two gentlemen. I made bold, however, to add to them two others of my own chuſing. The one was Parmentier, the † Attorney-general's ſubſtitute, and the other l'Epinay, an auditor in the Chamber of Accounts. Parmentier was Captain of the Trained-bands, in the Ward of St. Euſtace, that looks over the ſtreet of Deſprouvelles, which is conſiderable by its being ſo near the great Market-hall. L'Epinay commanded as lieutenant a company that joined to the ſaid Hall on Mont-matre ſide, and his intereſt in the company was greater than the Captain's, who was beſides his brother-in-law. Parmentier, whoſe ſenſe and courage made him as fit for a great action as any man whom I ever knew, aſſured me, that he could diſpoſe in what manner he pleaſed of Briga-

* A Sovereign Court, into which all accounts relating to public money are delivered.

† The Attorney-general is a great officer of the body of the magiſtracy. He is the King's man, and the public's man, and none but he can propoſe any a flictive puniſhment. He ought to have all proceedings at law, in which the King, the public, minors, the church, or corporations are concerned, communicated to him. There is an Attorney-general in all parliaments and other Sovereign Courts in the kingdom; and his ſubſtitute, otherwiſe the King's Attorney, acts in the ſame manner as he in all the inferior courts.

lier,

lier, Counſellor of the Court* of Aids, who was Captain of his own Ward, and of great power among the people. But he added, that he was not fit to be made privy to the thing, being unſteady, and not well able to hold his tongue.

I had received from the Count twelve thouſand crowns, under ſome pretence or other, by the hands of Duneau, one of his ſecretaries. I carried that ſum to my aunt de Magnelay, telling her, that it was a reſtitution intruſted into my hands by a dying friend, upon condition that I ſhould myſelf diſtribute it among ſuch ſort of poor as were not common beggars; that having taken my oath upon the Goſpel to diſtribute it myſelf, I was put to a ſtand about it, being unacquainted with that ſort of people, which was my reaſon for coming to her, to beg that ſhe would diſtribute it in the manner that it was deſigned. My aunt was overjoyed with the thing, and ſaid that ſhe would willingly help me, but that being under an oath of diſtributing the money myſelf, ſhe would have me be preſent, that I might thereby not only keep my word, but uſe myſelf beſides to charitable good deeds. This was the thing which I aimed at, that I might make myſelf known to all the neceſſitous people in Paris. So I ſuffered myſelf to be every day in a manner dragged along by my aunt to every corner of the town, and to the very garrets; and I often ſaw at her houſe people well cloathed, and well enough known, who came however to ſhare in ſecret charities. My good aunt ſeldom failed to tell them that they ought to remember her nephew in their prayers, becauſe it had pleaſed God to make him an inſtrument of comfort to them. You may imagine what effect this produced upon the minds of perſons, who of all others are the fitteſt by much to make uſe of in popular commotions. For the rich are drawn into them but unwillingly, and the known beggars do on that occaſion more harm than good, for the fear they

* A Sovereign court eſtabliſhed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to determine all differences that happen about the payment of aids, and all other public money, except the King's demeſnes.

create of being pillaged by them. The fitteſt perſons then in ſuch caſes, are thoſe whoſe condition is bad enough to deſire a change in the adminiſtration, but not ſo low as to be reduced to beg in public. It was to that ſort of people that I took therefore great care to make myſelf known, and I ſpent three or four months to that purpoſe, with all the application poſſible. I knew Nanny and Betty, and I never failed to give ſome trifle or other of my own to the very children by the fire-ſide. I acted all this under the cover of my aunt de Magnelay, whoſe conſtant practice was to do the like; and I tried even to act the godly part, by going to the conferences at St. Lazarus.

My two correſpondents at Sedan, who were Varicarville and Beauregard, wrote me word from time to time, that the Count had the beſt intentions in the world, and had not wavered in the leaſt from the time he had taken his reſolution. Nay, I remember that I once received a letter from Varicarville, wherein he ſaid, that both he and I had formerly wronged the Count very much, for proof of which he aſſured me, that it was now neceſſary to keep him back, becauſe he ſhewed an over-eagerneſs to enter into the Emperor and the King of Spain's meaſures. You muſt obſerve, that thoſe two powers who had made the moſt preſſing inſtances to draw him over to them, whilſt they ſaw him in ſuſpence, began to cool when they thought they had him faſt. And this was the fatal conſeqence of that ſlow way of acting, ſo natural to the politics of the Spaniards, and of thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, which is diſguiſed however under the name of Prudence. But what you are to obſerve further is, that the Count, who had for three months together ſhewn an unalterable reſolution, had no ſooner brought thoſe two powers to his terms, but that he himſelf began to flag. Such is the fate of irreſolute minds, which are never ſo much wavering as when things are coming to a concluſion.

I had notice of theſe convulſive fits by an expreſs, ſent me by Varicarville, which made me leave Paris that very ſame night, and I arrived at Sedan an hour after

after Anetonville, whose trade was negotiating, and who had been sent by the Duke de Longueville, brother-in-law * to the Count. He had brought with him some overtures for an accommodation, which were plausible, but at the same time captious: we all joined to oppose them. Those that had constantly attended the Count, repeated with warmth what had been his sentiments, and what he had said since he had declared for war. St. Ibal, who had been his agent at Brussels, insisted upon his engagements, upon his steps, upon his instances. He insisted upon what I had done at Paris by his order; upon the promises made to the Mareschal de Vitri, and to the Count de Cramail; upon the secret intrusted to two persons by his direction, and to four more for his service, and with his approbation. There was matter enough to enlarge upon, and, since his engagement, the thing spoke of itself. We persuaded at last, or rather overcame, after four days conflict. Anetonville was sent back with a stout answer. The Duke of Guise †, who had joined himself to the Count, and who had earnestly wished for the rupture, went to Liege to make levies. St. Ibal returned to Brussels to put the last hand to the treaty; Varicarville went post to Vienna, and I came back to Paris, but thought not fit to tell our associates the Count's irresolutions, of which he was not so perfectly cured, but that there were seen in him afterwards some appearances, though but very small.

As soon as I had an account that all was in readiness on the Spaniards side, I went to Sedan for the last time, to see every thing settled. There I found Meternic, Colonel of one of the oldest regiments of the empire, and sent thither by General Lamboy, who was advancing with an army in very good order, and composed most of it of veteran troops. The Colonel assured the Count that his General was ordered to act altogether as the Count should direct him, even to the

* The Duke de Longueville's first wife was sister to the Count de Soissons.

† Henry, second of the name.

giving

giving battle to the Mareſchal de Châtillon *, who commanded the army which the French had upon the Maeze. The enterprize that I had formed at Paris, depending altogether on the ſucceſs of a battle, I was glad to ſee with my own eyes, as much as I could, how all matters ſtood. The Count approved of my going to Givet with Meternic, and there I found the army very fine, and in good order: I alſo found there Don Miquel de Salamanca, who confirmed to me all that Meternic had ſaid; and I came back to Paris, with thirty-two blanks ſigned by the Count. I gave an account of all I knew to the Mareſchal de Vitri, who thereupon writ with his own hand the whole order which we were to obſerve in our enterprize; and he carried that order about him for five or ſix days together, which is pretty extraordinary in a priſoner.

The ſubſtance of it was: that as ſoon as we had received the news of the battle's being won, we were to publiſh it all over Paris, with all manner of flouriſhes: the Marſhal de Vitri and the Count de Cramail were, at the ſame time, to communicate the whole affair to the reſt of the priſoners, and they all together, were to make themſelves maſters of the Baſtile, and to ſeize upon the Governor. That done, they were to iſſue out into St. Anthony's ſtreet, with a good number of gentlemen which the Mareſchal had ſecured, and they were there to hallow and cry, God ſave the King, and the Count de Soiſſons. The Preſident d'Eſtampes was, at a fixt time, to have all the drums of his company to beat, and he was to join the Mareſchal de Vitri at St. John's church-yard, from whence they were to march to the parliament, to deliver to the chambers the Count de Soiſſon's letter, and to oblige that company to put out an arreſt in his favour. I was on my part, to put myſelf at the head of the companies of Parmentier and of Guerin, on which, l'Epinay aſſured me that I might rely. I was to have with me five and twenty gentlemen, whom I had engaged in my intereſt under divers pretences, and who

* Gaſpard de Coligni, the third of that name, born in 1584, and died in 1646.

knew

knew themſelves little or nothing of the matter. My Governor, who himſelf believed that my deſign was to carry away Mademoiſelle de Rohan, had brought me twelve out of his country. I had projected to make myſelf maſter of the Pont-neuf, that I might by the keys lend a hand to thoſe that were to go towards the courts of judicature, and afterwards I was to ſet up barricadoes in the places that ſhould appear to ſtir the moſt in our favour. The diſpoſition which we had put things into at Paris, made us believe that the ſucceſs was infallible: the ſecret was kept even to a wonder, and in that nick of time, the Count gave a battle and won it. You think, without doubt, our affairs much advanced by it; but nothing like that, the Count was killed at the time that the battle was won, and was killed in the midſt of his own men, though nobody ever knew how the thing happened, which is hardly credible, and yet true.

You may judge of the condition I was in, when this reached my ears. The Count de Cramail, who was certainly the wiſeſt of us all, thought of nothing now but how to keep the thing ſecret. It was intruſted but to ſix perſons in Paris, which however we thought a great many: but the divulging of it was much more to be feared from thoſe at Sedan, whoſe intereſt to hold their tongue was not near ſo great as ours, becauſe keeping where they were, their apprehenſion of danger could not be ſo great; and yet the ſecret was religiouſly kept by all. The Mareſchal de Vitri and the Count de Cramail, who had ſome thoughts of making their eſcape, plucked up a good heart, when they found that nobody ſpoke. This occaſion, and another of that kind, which I am to ſpeak of in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, has obliged me to think, and to ſay often, that ſecrecy is not ſo rare among perſons uſed to great affairs as is believed.

The Count de Soiſſon's death fixt me in my profeſſion, becauſe I was perſuaded that nothing conſiderable enough could now offer itſelf, and that at my age it was not fit for me to leave it, but by acting ſomething conſiderable. Beſides, Cardinal Richlieu declined

clined daily in his health, and the archbishoprick of Paris began to flatter my ambition; I therefore resolved not only to follow my profession, but to do it in good earnest. Madam de Guimené had been taken away from me by Mr. d'Andilly six weeks before, and was retired to Port-Royal: she had ceased to curl and powder her hair, and had dismissed me in the most authentic form that the order of penitence could require.

If I was thus deprived of the Place-roiale, the devil had not left me the possession of the Arsenal; for I had discovered by means of a trusty valet-de-chambre there, whom I had won to my interest, that the Marescal de la Meilleraie's Captain of the guards, was at least as much in Madam de la Meillerai's favour as I. Was not this enough, think ye, to make me a saint? The truth is, that I became by it much more orderly, outwardly at least. I lived in a very retired manner, and left nothing now doubtful about my being fixed to my profession. I studied much, and became acquainted with most of the learned and pious men. My house became a kind of an academy, but I took all possible care that that academy should be kept free, and not be made a tribunal seat *. I began to cultivate, but without affectation, the friendship of the Canons and Curates, which I met with of course at my uncle's. I did not act the godly part, because I was not sure that I could counterfeit it long; but I shewed a great esteem for all the godly, and with them, this is one of the most essential points of godliness. I brought even my pleasures to agree with the rest of my conduct. It was not possible for me to be without a love-intrigue of some kind; but I had one with Madam de Pommereux, who was both young and a coquet, after a manner that was convenient for me, because having all the young gentlemen at her house, and at her heels, their pretended affairs with her, covered mine, which was then, or at least became soon after, more real. In short, the manner in which I behaved myself proved successful, and to that degree, that I may truly say that I became very

* As the French academy is, upon which this seems to reflect.

fashionable

fashionable among those of my profession; and the godly themselves said of me, what Mr. Vincent * had applied to me out of the gospel: that though I wanted piety, I was not far off from the kingdom of heaven.

Fortune favoured me on this occasion more than she was wont to do. I found by chance Mestrezat, a famous minister of Charenton, at Madam de Rambure's, a hugonot lady, finical in her manners, and affecting to appear learned. She engaged me with the minister out of mere curiosity, in a dispute which ended not here; for it lasted for nine several days together. The Mareschal de la Force † and Monsieur de Turenne ‡ were present at three or four of our conferences. A gentleman of Poitou, who assisted at them all, became thereby a convert. I was not then quite six and twenty, so that this gentleman's conversion made a great noise: but among other effects, it produced one which had but very little relation to its cause. I shall tell it you presently, but I must first do justice to a piece of civility paid me by Mestrezat at one of those conferences. I had had some advantage over him in the fifth, wherein we treated of the vocation of pastors: but when we came in the sixth, to treat of the Pope's authority, he then puzzled me; for being unwilling to give any discontent to the court of Rome, I went upon principles not so easy to defend as those of the Sorbonne are. The minister perceived the pain I was in, and was willing to spare me in the points where he saw that I might have been obliged, in answering his arguments, to say something that might have shocked the Nuntio. I observed this civil way of proceeding, and thanked him for it at the end of the conference, Monsieur de Turenne being present. His answer was: 'It were not well in me to hinder the Abbot de 'Retz from being a Cardinal.' This politeness, if you observe it, savoured nothing of a Geneva pedant.

* Vincent de Paul, who had been his preceptor. See the note relating to him in the Preface.

† James Nompar de Caumont, Duke de la Force, Peer and Mareschal of France, who died in the year 1652, aged about 93.

‡ Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne.

But

But I have told you, that these conferences produced an effect nothing like its cause, and this is it.

Madam de Vendôme *, whose character you must have heard of, conceived after these conferences an affection for me, little inferior to that of a mother. She had been present at them, though certainly she understood nothing of our dispute: but what strengthened her good opinion of me, was what was said in my behalf by the Bishop of Lizieux †, who was her director, and always lodged at her house when he staid at Paris. He was come back from his diocese much about this time, and having a great friendship for me, and finding me besides disposed to attend my profession, which was the thing he had earnestly wished for, he took all imaginable care to set off to the world the few good qualities he might find in me. It is certain that it was to him I owed what small notice was then taken of me; and I may say, that nobody's approbation was better able in France, to set off a man. His sermons had raised him from a low and foreign birth (he was a Fleming) to be a Bishop. He had maintained himself in that dignity by a piety free from ostentation or varnish. His disinterestedness went beyond that of anchorites, and he shewed at the same time a courage equal to that of St. Ambrose, having preserved at court, and with the King, a freedom which Cardinal Richlieu, who had studied divinity under him, both feared and revered. This honest prelate had taken such a fancy for me, that he read me lessons thrice a week on St. Paul's epistles; and having conceived the design of making a convert of Monsieur de Turenne, it came at the same time into his head to give me the credit of that conversion.

* Wife to the Duke de Vendome, and daughter of Philip Emanuel of Lorain, Duke de Mercœur.

† His name was Cospean. He assisted Lewis XIII. who had the highest esteem for him, to the very last instant; and that Prince, some moments before he died, embraced him, calling him his father. He was likewise in great esteem with Cardinal Richlieu, to whom having dedicated a Latin book, the Cardinal, whose time was precious, returned him thanks with only these three Latin words, *Accepi, legi, probavi.*

Monsieur

Monſieur de Turenne had a great reſpect for him, but he made at that time a greater ſhew ſtill of it, for a reaſon which he has ſince told me, but not till above ten years after The Count de Brion, whom I believe you may have ſeen in your youth, bearing the title of Duke d'Amville, was much in love with Mademoiſelle de Vendôme, who has been ſince Madame de Nemours. He was likewiſe a great friend of Monſieur de Turenne's; who to oblige him, and give him an opportunity of ſeeing the lady oftner, made a ſhew of liking the inſtructions of the Biſhop of Lizieux, to whom for that reaſon he paid a greater reſpect than ordinary. The Count de Brion, who had been twice a capuchin, and who made a perpetual hotchpotch of devotion and of ſins, ſeemed extreamly affected with his friend's pretended converſion, and never miſſed being preſent at the conferences which were often held, and never any where but in Mademoiſelle de Vendôme's chamber. Brion * was a man but of little ſenſe, but he knew a great deal by rote, which in many occaſions ſupplies a defect of ſenſe. That rote of his, with Monſieur de Turenne's manner, which is known to you, and the indolence that appeared in Mademoiſelle de Vendôme, made me all this while ſuſpect nothing at all of an intrigue between them. You muſt give me leave, madam, to make here a ſhort digreſſion before I continue this ſtory †.

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It often happened, that at the end of our conferences we took a walk in the garden, and there the late Madam de Choiſi propoſed one day to go to St. Cloud, and in a jeſting manner told Madam de Vendôme that we ought to divert the Biſhop there with a play. The good prelate, who was a great admirer of Corneille's tragedies, ſaid he ſhould make no ſcruple of hearing one, provided it were out of town, and the company was but ſmall. So the thing was agreed upon, and the whole company was to conſiſt only of Madam and Mademoiſelle de Vendôme, Madam de Choiſi, Monſieur

* Francis-Chriſtopher de Levi, de Ventadour, Duke d'Amville.
† The whole digreſſion, which contained two ſides, is torn off.

de

de Turenne, Monſieur de Brion, Voiture and myſelf. Brion undertook for the players and the muſic, and I took the collation upon me. We went to St. Cloud, where the players, who acted that evening before the Cardinal at Ruel, could arrive but late. The Biſhop was pleaſed with the muſic, and Madam de Vendôme, whoſe daughter danced, could have looked on for ever, though the young lady danced alone. In fine, we were ſo long amuſed there, that the day began to dawn (the days were then at the longeſt) when we came to the deſcent of the Bons-hommes. Juſt at the bottom of it our coach ſtopt ſhort. I was ſeated at one of the boots by Mademoiſelle de Vendôme, and I aſked the coachman what made him ſtop? He anſwered me all in a fright: 'Will you have me drive over all the 'devils in hell which I ſee here before me.' I have always been ſhort-ſighted, ſo that though I looked out, I could ſee nothing. Madam de Choiſi, who ſat with Monſieur de Turenne at the other boot of the coach, was the firſt that perceived from within the coach, what occaſioned our coachman's fright. I ſay from within the coach, for five or ſix footmen that ſtood behind it were crying out, Jeſus-Maria, quaking already for the fear they were in. Madam de Choiſi's ſhrieks made Monſieur de Turenne get out of the coach. For my part I thought that we were beſet with highwaymen, and I got out of the coach likewiſe. I took one of the footmen's ſwords, which I drew, and went to join Monſieur de Turenne on the other ſide. I found him looking ſtedfaſtly on ſomething which I could not ſee. I aſked him what he was looking upon. He jogged me on, and with a low voice: 'You 'ſhall know,' ſays he, 'but we muſt not fright the 'ladies.' The truth is, ſome of them rather roared or howled than any thing elſe. Voiture * began an oremus: you may have heard how piercing a voice Madam de Choiſi had: Mademoiſelle de Vendôme was at her beads, whilſt her mother would have con-

* Vincent de Voiture, of the French Academy, famous for his letters.

feſſed

ſeſſed herſelf to the good Biſhop, who ſaid to her, 'Be not afraid, daughter, you are in the hands of God.' The Count de Brion was upon his knees, ſinging with all the footmen the Litanies of our Bleſſed Virgin. All this, as you may well imagine, paſt at the ſame time, and in an inſtant. Monſieur de Turenne, who had drawn the little ſword he wore by his ſide, after he had looked about a little, turned himſelf to me, and ſaid with the ſame air that he would have aſked for his dinner, or given the enemy battle; 'Let's go towards them.' Towards whom? replied I; for the truth is, I began to think they had all loſt their ſenſes. 'Why,' ſaid he, 'towards thoſe devils, for they may 'really be devils for ought I know.' We had by this time advanced ſome ſteps towards the Savonnerie, and conſequently were come nearer the pretended devils, ſo that I began to perceive ſomething. The firſt appearance ſeemed to me a long proceſſion of black ſprights, the ſight of which put me at firſt into a greater trouble than Monſieur de Turenne had been in. But reflecting at the ſame time, that I had long wiſhed to come at the ſight of ſpirits, and that I was like to ſee ſome here, it put me into a quicker motion than Monſieur de Turenne's way allowed him to uſe, and I gave two or three jumps towards the proceſſion I had ſeen. Thoſe we had left in the coach, who thought us engaged with all the devils in hell, increaſed their roaring, and yet there were others more frighted than they. For you muſt know that the reformed barefoot Auſtin Friars, who are called black friars, were our pretended devils. When they ſaw two men coming towards them with ſword in hand, you may imagine how great their fear was. One of them detached himſelf from the reſt, and ſpeaking aloud, ſaid to us: 'Gentlemen, 'we are poor friars, who deſign no body any hurt, 'and are going to cool ourſelves in the river for our 'health.' Upon this we went back to the coach, ready to ſplit our ſides with laughing, as you may well imagine, and each of us made a reflection at that moment, which we told one another the next morning. Monſieur de Turenne proteſted to me, that the firſt apparition

apparition of these pretended sprights afforded him some pleasure, though he had always thought he should be frighted if he ever saw any thing of that nature: and I owned to him, that though I had all along wished to see such an apparition, yet at the first sight I was not without some fear. We made a second observation, which was, that the account given us of most of the lives that have been written, is not to be relied on. For Monsieur de Turenne protested to me that he was not seized in the least with fear at the adventure which I have mentioned, though he owned he gave me occasion to think quite otherwise by his slow motion and his stedfast looks. And when I owned to him that I was at first seized with some fear, he protested again that he would have sworn to the contrary, having seen no other appearance in me than that of courage and alacrity. At this rate who can be able to write the truth, but those who have themselves experienced it? The President de Thou was in the right to say that we have no true histories, but such as have been written by men sincere enough to speak the truth in what relates to themselves. As for my part, madam, I do not pretend to any merit in my morals for being sincere with you; for I find so great a satisfaction when I give you an account of all the windings and turnings of my own heart, that I act more from a principle of pleasure, than from the reason of the thing itself, when I keep so religiously close to truth.

Mademoiselle de Vendôme entertained upon this the most contemptible thoughts of Brion; who, poor man, had indeed shewed, in this ridiculous adventure, a faint-heartedness hardly possible to be expressed. She laughed at him with me, as soon as I got back into the coach, saying: 'I find by the esteem I have for 'courage, that I am a true grand-daughter to Henry 'the Great. As for you, you must be free from all 'fear, since you have not been frighted on this oc-'casion.' 'I have had my share of the fright,' replied I, 'but not being so godly as Brion, it did not in-'cline me to sing litanies.' 'No,' said she, 'you have 'not been frighted, which makes me fancy that you

'believe no devils; for Monsieur de Turenne, who 'is a man of the greatest courage, appeared himself 'much frighted, and went not so fast on as you.' I confess that the distinction she made between Monsieur de Turenne and me, was pleasing to me, and brought into my head the thought of speaking somewhat to her in the language of a lover. 'One may,' said I, 'believe a devil, and yet not fear him: there are things 'in the world more terrible than the devil.' 'And 'what can that be?' answered she. 'Oh,' said I, 'the things I mean are so terrible, that I dare not so 'much as name them.' She understood my meaning, as she has confessed to me since, though she would not then own it. That made her join in conversation with the company, and so we came back to the Hôtel de Vendôme, and from thence every one went their way.

Mademoiselle de Vendôme was not what is called a great beauty, though she certainly was very handsome, and what I had said both of her and of Mademoiselle de Guise, was approved of; which is, that they were beauties of quality, and that one wondered not, after having seen them, to find them Princesses. Mademoiselle de Vendôme had but very little wit; but it is certain, that at that time her simplicity was not yet well laid open. She had a gravity in her air that was not an effect of sense, but of indolence, and with that gravity there was mixed a small grain of haughtiness. Now you know a grave air hides many defects; so that in the whole, I may say that she was lovely. I pursued my point, and found therein admirable conveniencies. I drew upon myself every body's praises for sticking so close to the Bishop of Lizieux, who lodged at the Hôtel de Vendôme. The conferences which I have mentioned were followed with an explanation of St. Paul's epistles, which the good Bishop took delight to make me repeat in French, under pretence that they might be understood by Madame de Vendôme, and my Aunt de Magnelay, who seldom failed to be there. We went twice to Anet*, and staid a fortnight there

* A magnificent castle, belonging to the Duke de Vendome.

the

the first time, and six weeks the second time. In our second journey thither I went with * . . . . . It is true, I went not so far as I could have wished, neither have I ever been so far. The lady had prescribed herself bounds, which she would never transgress. I went however very far, and for a long time, but was stopped in my career by her marriage, which did not happen till a little after the late King's death. She then gave herself up to devotion; she preached to me, and I answered her . . . . . I remained her humble servant, and had luck enough to give her good proofs of it in what happened afterwards in the civil war.

You see that I am religious even to a scruple in obeying you; for I must beg leave to put you again in mind here, of the command you laid upon me at a friend's of yours, two nights before you went from Paris; which was, that I should not hide in this relation any thing whatsoever of what has happened to me.

By what I have said, you will find that my ecclesiastical occupations were varied and enlivened by others a little more diverting. But the second sort did not at all disfigure the first. The decorum was observed in every thing; or if I was a little wanting in that, my luck supplied all, and that luck was such, that the whole clergy of the diocese wished for nothing more than to see me succeed my uncle, neither could they hide the passion they had for it. Cardinal Richlieu was far from being of the same mind. My family was odious to him, and he disliked me for the reasons which I have touched upon before. Two things happened at that time, which increased his displeasure against me.

You may remember that I have sometimes told you that I knew a man who had but small defects, but that every one of these defects was either the product or the cause of some good qualities in him. Now in a conversation I had with the late President de Mesmes, I was saying something quite opposite to this, and yet that may be true too. That was, that Cardinal

* There are here two words scratched out.

Richlieu

Richlieu had not one great qualification but what was either the product or the cause of some great defect in him. This was said in a closet where nobody but he and I were. It came however, I do not know by whose means, to the Cardinal's ears, and I was named to be the man that spoke these words: you may judge of the consequence. The other thing that angered him, was my going at a juncture of time that was taken notice of, to the President de Barillon *, then prisoner at Amboise for some remonstrances he had made in Parliament. Two wretches that were hermits, and at the same time false coiners, had had some secret communication with the Duke de Vendôme, perhaps about their last trade. But not being pleased with him, they accused him very falsly of proposing to them the killing the Cardinal, and to give a greater credit to their depositions, they joined with the Duke all those whom they thought noted by his eminence. The Count de Montresor and the President de Barillon were of the number. I was one of the first that heard of it, by the means of Bergeron, clerk to Monsieur Desnoyers; and having a great friendship for the President, I took post the same evening, and went to Amboise, with a design to get him out of that place, which was not a difficult thing to do. But finding himself innocent, he would not so much as hearken to my proposal, but staid at Amboise, in contempt both of the informers and of the information. This journey of mine gave the Cardinal occasion to tell the Bishop of Lizieux, that all his enemies were my friends. 'Tis true,' answered the Bishop, 'and instead of finding fault with him, 'you ought to esteem him for it, because I have ob-'served, that every one of those you mean, were his 'friends before they became your enemies.' 'If that 'be true,' said the Cardinal, 'people are to blame to 'tell me all the tales I hear.' The Bishop did me on that occasion all the good offices possible, and with that

* John James Barillon, President of the Inquests. The Queen, some days before King Lewis the Thirteenth died, sent for Barillon, and for the Cardinal de Retz's father, to advise with them about the choice of a ministry after the King's death.

ſucceſs, that he told me the next day, and has confirmed it to me many times ſince, that nothing but the Cardinal's death could have prevented him from reſtoring me to his good opinion. What diſpoſed the Cardinal the more to it was the Biſhop's aſſuring him, that though I had cauſe to think myſelf loſt at court, I always refuſed entering into any friendſhip with Mr. de Cinq-Mars *, Maſter of the horſe. The truth is, that Mr. de Thou, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendſhip, preſſed the matter to me, but I lent no ear to it, becauſe from the beginning I thought the foundation of the deſign not ſolid, and the event has juſtified that I was not miſtaken.

The Cardinal de Richlieu's death prevented the Biſhop of Lizieux's putting the laſt hand to my reconciliation, and ſo I was left in the throng of thoſe that had been noted by the miniſtry. That characteriſm was not favourable for the firſt weeks that followed the death of the Cardinal. For though the King was pleaſed to the higheſt degree with his death, he thought fit however to ſhew other outward ſigns. He ratified the gifts which the Cardinal had made of places and governments, he careſſed his near relations, he maintained all his creatures in their poſts, and he affected to give but a cold reception to thoſe that had been out of favour with him. I was the only one in that caſe that was excepted. For when the Archbiſhop of Paris preſented me to the King, he treated me not only with civility, but with a diſtinction that ſurprized every body. He ſpoke to me of my ſtudies and of my ſermons, and even rallied me in an agreeable and obliging manner. He beſides ordered me not to let a week paſs without making my court to him. There were two cauſes of this good uſage, which his Majeſty acquainted the Queen with, and which came to our knowledge but the day before he died.

* Henry Coeffier, Marquis of Cinq-Mars, and ſon to the Mareſchal d'Effiat. Every body verſed in the hiſtory of that time, knows of the ſad end of that gentleman, and of his friend Mr. de Thou, who was ſon to the famous M. de Thou the hiſtorian.

Thoſe

Thoſe two cauſes were founded upon two adventures which happened to me at my leaving the college. I have omitted the mentioning them, becauſe being nothing related to any other paſſage of my life, I thought them not worthy your notice. I am now obliged to expoſe them to your view, becauſe, as it has pleaſed Fortune, they have been followed with conſequences much greater than could naturally have been expected. But beſides, the truth is, that they came not at firſt to my remembrance, and nothing but the ſequel of things has reminded me of them.

Soon after my leaving college, my governor's valet-de-chambre found at a wretched woman's that was a pin-maker, a niece of hers not above fourteen, who was of a moſt ſurprizing beauty. He bought her for me for 150 piſtoles, after I had had the ſight of her. He took a ſmall houſe for her at Iſſy, and put a ſiſter of his with her. I failed not to go thither the next day, and found her extremely dejected. However, I was not ſurprized at it, thinking it a natural effect of her baſhfulneſs: But the day after, that I went thither again, I was ſtruck with ſomething more ſurpriſing ſtill, and more extraordinary than her beauty, and that is as much as can be ſaid. She ſpoke to me in a modeſt and a godly manner, but free from paſſion. She indeed fell a crying, becauſe ſhe could not help it. I found that ſhe feared her aunt to a degree that made me pity the girl. I admired, firſt her wit, and afterwards her virtue. I preſſed her as much as was neceſſary for the trying her, but I became aſhamed of myſelf. I ſtaid till night came, to take her along with me in my coach. I then carried her to my aunt de Magnelay, who put her in a convent, where ſhe died eight or ten years after, with the reputation of a ſaint.

This poor maid owned to my aunt, that the pin-maker's woman's threats had ſo frighted her, that ſhe had yielded at laſt to whatever I had pleaſed; and my proceeding in this matter ſo moved my aunt, that ſhe went the next morning and told it the Biſhop of

Lizieux, who reported it to the King at his dinner. This is one of the two adventures; the other, though of another nature, worked in no leſs a degree upon the King's mind.

A year before this, I went to hunt the ſtag at Fontainbleau, with Mr. de Souvré's hounds; and having tired my horſes, I took poſt to return back to Paris. I had with me my governor and one valet-de-chambre, but being better mounted than they, I arrived before them at Juviſi, where I got my ſaddle put on the beſt poſt-horſe which I could meet with there. Coutenau, Captain of the ſmall company of the king's light-horſe, a man brave, but whimſical, arrived there likewiſe at that time upon a poſt-horſe coming from Paris. He immediately ordered the hoſtler to take my ſaddle off the horſe's back, and put his own on it. I came up to him and ſaid, that I had hired that horſe; but ſeeing me with a band, and a black ſuit on, he took me for what in effect I was, a young ſtudent, and ſo anſwered me only with a ſwinging blow that ſet my noſe a bleeding. I drew my ſword, and he likewiſe. At our firſt paſs his foot ſlipped, and he ſtumbled down, which trying to prevent, he hurt his hand againſt a piece of wood that happened to be ſharp at one end, which made his ſword fall. I retired two ſteps, and bid him take it up, which he did, but by the point, and preſenting the hilt to me, he aſked me a thouſand pardons. But when my governor (who was arrived by this time) told him who I was, he then aſked me a million. This made him go back to Paris, where he told the King (whom he was very free with) this ſmall adventure. The King liked it, and remembered it in due time, as I ſhall mention more particularly when I come to his death. I reaſſume the thread of my narration.

The kind manner in which the King treated me, made my friends hope that ſome way might be found for my obtaining the coadjutorſhip of Paris. They met at firſt with many obſtacles in my uncle's mind, which was of the narroweſt, and conſequently full of jealouſy and difficulties. By the means however of

Deſita

Desita his lawyer, and of de Couret his almoner, they got his consent. But at the same time they committed a fault which broke their measures, at least for that time. They published, against my advice, my uncle's consent, and they even suffered the Sorbonne, the curates, and the chapter, to thank him for it. This made a great noise, and, indeed, too much; for Cardinal Mazarin *, Desnoyers, and Chavigny, took occasion from it to traverse me, by telling the King, That it was not fit for bodies to mark out themselves their own archbishops. So that when the Mareschal de Schomberg †, whose first wife was my cousin-german, sounded the matter, he found no likelihood in it. The King answered with a great deal of kindness as to my person, but said, I was yet too young.

We discovered some time after an obstacle more hidden, and by that more dangerous. Desnoyers, Secretary of State, and of the three ministers he that seemed the most in favour at court, was by profession a bigot, and, as it was believed, even a secret Jesuit. It came into his head to get the Archbishopric of Paris for himself, and as my uncle's infirmities made people reckon from month to month on his death as on a sure thing, he thought fit at all adventures to remove me from Paris, where he saw me extremely beloved, and to that end to give me an employment that might appear, even in my eyes, handsome and reasonable for one of my age. He caused therefore Father Sirmond a Jesuit, and confessor to the King, to propose me to his Majesty for the Bishopric of Agde, which has but twenty-two parishes, but is worth above 3000 livres a year. The King was well pleased with the proposal, and sent me a brevet for it the very same day. I must own that this perplexed me beyond

* Mazarin was sworn of the King's council, at the recommendation of Cardinal Richlieu, immediately after that Cardinal's death, and jointly with Desnoyers and Chavigny, who were both of them secretaries of state, managed all affairs in private with his Majesty, before they were brought before the council.

† Charles, Duke d'Allum, Peer and Mareschal of France, by the name of Schomberg.

expreſſion. My devotion did not incline me to ſpend my days in Languedoc. But the conſequences of a refuſal were ſuch, that not one man durſt have adviſed me to it. I reſolved, therefore, to be my own adviſer. I went to the King, and after I had thanked him, I told him, that I feared extremely the weight of a remote biſhoprick. I ſaid, that my years required advice and directions, which could be met with but imperfectly in provinces ſo far off. Let your fancy ſupply the reſt, I added. My luck was greater than my diſcretion. The King took not my refuſal ill, and he continued to uſe me kindly. This uſage of his, with Deſnoyer's retreat from court, by Chavigny's cunning, who had laid ſnares for him, which he fell into, renewed my hopes of the coadjutorſhip of Paris. But the King being entered into engagements that were well known, to grant nothing of that kind ſince what he had done for the Archbiſhop of Arles, we kept the thing in ſuſpence, and left it to time, the rather, becauſe the King grew every day worſe and worſe, and that I had cauſe to hope every thing from the Regency. At laſt the King died. The Duke de Beaufort *, who from the beginning was devoted to the Queen, and even a pretended lover of hers, took a fancy to govern, which he was leſs capable of than his groom. The Biſhop of Beauvais †, a greater idiot than any one whom you ever knew, put on the figure of a firſt miniſter, and his firſt ſtep was to require the Hollanders to become Roman catholicks, if they deſired to keep in alliance with France. The Queen was aſhamed of that farce of her miniſter. She commanded me to go from her to my father, to offer him the firſt place; but finding him obſtinately bent not to leave his cell at the father's of the oratory, ſhe put herſelf into Cardinal Mazarin's hands.

You may imagine that it was not difficult for me to find room among others, chiefly at a time when

* Francis, ſecond ſon of Cæſar, Duke de Vendome. He was killed at the ſiege of Candy in 1669.

† Auguſtin Potier.

nothing

nothing was refuſed. I remember that la Fueillade, brother to him whom you ſee now at court, was then uſed to ſay, That the French language was reduced but to four ſhort words; *The Queen's ſo good.*

Madam de Magnelay, and the Biſhop of Lizieux, aſked the coadjutorſhip for me, but were refuſed, the Queen ſaying, that ſhe would not grant it but at my father's requeſt, who would by no means appear at the louvre. At laſt he came thither, for once and no more. The Queen declared publickly to him, that ſhe had received orders from the late King, the day before he died, to give it me, and that the King told her in the preſence of the Biſhop of Lizieux, that he had had me always in his view for it, ſince the two adventures of the pin-maker's niece, and of Coutenau. Judge you what relation thoſe two trifling matters have with the archbiſhopric of Paris! And yet this is the manner moſt things are brought about in.

All the clergy, in their ſeveral bodies, came to thank the Queen. L'Hoſier, Maſter of Requeſts, and my particular friend, brought me ſixteen thouſand crowns for my bulls. I ſent them to Rome by an expreſs, with an order not to aſk for any * *gratis*, that there might be no delay in the expedition, nor any time given the miniſters to traverſe it. I received the bull the eve of All-ſaints. The next day I went into the pulpit at St. John's en Greve, to begin there for the firſt time to preach the advent, which I went through with. But it is now time to take a little breath: Methinks I have hitherto appeared but in the pit, or at moſt among the fidlers; you ſhall now ſee me upon the ſtage, where I ſhall preſent you with ſome ſcenes, if not worthy of you, yet ſomewhat leſs unworthy your attention.

* The word *gratis* is uſed in the Chancery of Rome, to ſignify as well the abatement of part of the fees due there for the expediting any bull as the remiſſion of the whole.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

BOOK II.

A. D. 1643.

I Begun my Advent ſermons at St. John's en Greve upon All-ſaints day, with ſuch a concourſe of people, as might well be expected in a city ſo little uſed, as Paris was, to ſee her Archbiſhop's in the pulpit. The great ſecret for thoſe that enter into employments, is at firſt to ſeize upon people's fancy by an action which ſome circumſtances make peculiarly their own.

Being obliged to enter into orders, I retired to St. Lazarus, where I gave the exterior all the common appearances. My inward employment was to conſider ſeriouſly and maturely, in what manner I was to behave myſelf, in which I met with many difficulties. I found the Archbiſhopric of Paris debaſed as to the world, by my uncle's mean ways, and deſolate as to God by his negligence and his incapacity. I foreſaw infinite obſtacles to the bringing it again upon a right footing, and I was not ſo blind, but that I ſaw that the greateſt and moſt inſuperable came from myſelf. I was not ignorant of the neceſſity there is for a biſhop to live regularly, and I was convinced that my uncle's diſorderly and ſcandalous life made that neceſſity ſtill greater and more indiſpenſable in me. But at the ſame time I found that it was not in my power to live in that manner, and that all the reaſons which conſcience or honour could ſuggeſt to me againſt an irregular life, would prove but inſignificant and weak. After ſix days deliberation, I choſe to act ill, deſignedly,

edly, which as to God is beyond compariſon the moſt criminal, but which is without doubt the wiſeſt as to the world. The reaſon is, that when you act in that manner, you always take ſome previous meaſures that will cover part of the ill action, and that you avoid beſides the moſt dangerous ſort of ridicule that perſons of our profeſſion can be expoſed to, which is the mixing prepoſterouſly ſin with devotion.

This was the holy diſpoſition I was in when I left St. Lazarus. However, it was not bad in every reſpect, for I had fully reſolved to diſcharge exactly all the outward duties of my profeſſion, and to take as much care of other peoples ſouls, as I took little of my own.

The Archbiſhop of Paris, who was the weakeſt of all men, was by a conſequence common enough, the moſt vain-glorious. He had ſuffered the loweſt officers of the crown to precede him, whilſt he refuſed to give the upper hand in his own houſe to perſons of quality that had buſineſs with him. I took a quite oppoſite way. I gave the upper hand in my houſe to every one, and accompanied them even to their coach. This gave me the reputation with many of being civil, and with the reſt of being humble; and till ſuch time as I thought that reputation well fixed, I avoided without affectation, to meet at any place of ceremony with any perſons of high rank. But when I thought it firmly eſtabliſhed, I took occaſion from a marriage contract to diſpute with the Duke of Guiſe, the rank in which we were to ſign. I had well ſtudied my right, and had cauſed it to be well ſtudied by others; and that right was indiſputable within the limits of the dioceſe. So the precedency was adjudged me by an arreſt of council, and I experienced by the great number of perſons which declared for me on this occaſion: *That to deſcend to the loweſt, is the ſureſt way to become a match for the greateſt.* I made my court to the Queen once a week at maſs, and I ſeldom failed going from thence to dine with Cardinal Mazarin. That miniſter treated me very kindly, and I may ſay, liked my conduct mighty well, for my refuſing to take part with the cabal of

the *Importants*, though there were ſome amongſt them that were my particular friends. Perhaps, Madam, you will not be diſpleaſed if I tell you what that cabal was.

The Duke de Beaufort, whoſe ſenſe did not reach by much to the common ſize, finding that the Queen had given her truſt to Cardinal Mazarin, was tranſported with anger at it in a moſt imprudent manner. He rejected all the advantages that were offered him with profuſeneſs. His vanity carried him to give in public all the demonſtrations of an angry lover. He ſhewed no manner of regard for the Duke of Orleans, and from the very firſt days of the regency, he braved the late Prince of Condé *. But he incenſed this laſt beyond meaſure, by declaring himſelf publickly againſt the Ducheſs of Longueville †, and by favouring the Dutcheſs of Montbazon ‡, who had offended the other in no leſs a manner, than in counterfeiting or ſhewing five of her letters, writ, as it was pretended, to Coligni §. The Duke de Beaufort, to ſupport what he was doing againſt the Queen, the miniſter, and all the princes of the blood, formed a cabal, which conſiſted of men that died ſince all mad, and whom even then I did not think very wiſe. Such were Beaupré, Fontrailles, and Fieſque. Montreſor, who had the looks of a Cato, but not the deeds, and with him Bethune, joined themſelves to the others. The firſt was my near relation, the other a pretty good friend of mine. They obliged Mr. de Beaufort to make me many advances, which I received with a great deal of reſpect, but entered into nothing. I even ſpoke my mind plainly to Montreſor. I told him that I owed

* Henry de Bourbon, ſecond of the name, who died in the year 1646.

† Ann-Genevieve de Bourbon, daughter of Henry Prince of Conde.

‡ Mary de Bretagne, daughter of the Count de Vertus, and wife to the Duke de Montbazon, Governor of Paris.

§ Gaſpard de Coligni, the fourth of that name; Duke of Chatillon; killed at Charenton near Paris, during the civil war in 1649; aged 29.

the

the Coadjutorship of Paris to the Queen, which obligation was considerable enough to hinder me from entering into an union that might displease her. At this Montresor said, that I was in no manner obliged to the Queen, who had only followed the order which the late King had publickly given her, and that it was besides granted me at a time when the Queen could not be said to give any thing, because she refused nothing. To this I replied these very words: 'You must suffer 'me to forget all that might diminish my gratitude, 'and to remember only what may increase it.' These words, which Goulas * (as he has since told me) reported to Cardinal Mazarin, were pleasing to him. He repeated them to the Queen the day that the Duke de Beaufort was put in prison. His being made a prisoner made a great noise, but produced not the effect which it ought to have done. And as this proved the beginning of the minister's settlement, who is to act the most considerable part in the play which is to follow, it seems necessary, in my opinion, to speak a little more particularly of it.

You have already seen that the party which the Duke de Beaufort had formed in the court, consisted only of four or five melancholists, who looked as if they were hatching some mischief. That look of theirs either frighted the Cardinal, or gave him room to feign that he was frighted: there were reasons to doubt which of the two it was. What is certain is, that la Riviere †, who had already got a great ascendant over the Duke of Orleans, endeavoured to terrify the minister by advices of all sorts, that thereby he might get rid of Montresor ‡, who was a scare-crow to him. It is certain likewise that the Prince of Condé left

* The Duke of Orlean's Secretary, who is said to have betrayed his master on a great many occasions.

† Lewis Barbier, Abbot of la Riviere, a man of mean extraction, and whose principles were extremely depraved, was at that time the Duke of Orleans's favourite. He was very near being made a Cardinal, and he died Bishop and Duke of Langres in 1670.

‡ Montresor had been very much in the Duke of Orleans's confidence, and he hated mortally la Riviere, whom he represents in his Memoirs as the worst of men.

nothing undone to put the Cardinal in a fright. His reaſon for it was the fear which he was in, that the Duke d'Enguyien, the preſent Prince of Condé, ſhould expoſe himſelf by fighting the Duke of Beaufort, as he was near to have done in the quarrel between Madame de Longueville and Madam de Montbazon. This ſame intereſt having united the two houſes of Orleans and of Condé, it was an eaſy matter for them to turn into ridicule the ſtatelineſs of the Duke of Beaufort's friends, which occaſioned their being called the *Importants*. The two united houſes made at the ſame time a very cunning uſe of the mighty ſhew, which the Duke of Beaufort (like all thoſe that act more out of vanity than ſenſe) affected to make on all occaſions, even on the moſt trifling. Secret meetings were held, and rendezvous given without any manner of purpoſe. Even hunting had a myſterious air with that Duke and his cabal. In ſhort, he acted ſo well, that he cauſed himſelf to be arreſted at the Louvre, by Guitaut, Captain of the Queen's guards. The Importants were driven away and diſperſed, and it was given out all the kingdom over, that they had formed an enterprize againſt the Cardinal's life. What has hindered me from believing it is, that I never ſaw any depoſitions about it, or any traces of it, though moſt of the domeſtick ſervants of the houſe of Vendôme were kept in priſon for a long while. Vaumorin and Ganſeville, whom I have queſtioned a hundred times about it during the Fronde *, have always proteſted to me that nothing in the world was falſer; one was the Duke of Beaufort's Captain of the guards; the other his Gentleman of the horſe.

The Marquis de Nangis, Colonel of the regiment either of Navarre, or of Picardy (I do not preciſely remember which) being incenſed at the Queen and the Cardinal for a cauſe which I ſhall immediately tell you, was tempted five or ſix days before the Duke of Beaufort's impriſonment, to enter into the cabal of the

* A party ſo called, of which more hereafter.

Impor-

Importants. But I dissuaded him from it, by telling him: 'That fashion, which has an influence in every 'thing, has never so great a one, as in being either 'in favour or out of favour at court. There are times '(said I) when to be out of favour there, takes off 'any ill qualities, and sets off all the good ones. But 'there are times when it is not becoming a man of 'honour to be in disgrace.' I then affirmed to Nangis, that the cabal of the Importants went against the fashion on this occasion; and I mention this, that I may have an opportunity here of describing to you the state of things at the time of the late King's death. It is what I ought to have done before, but I have been carried away by the thread of my discourse.

It must be owned in praise of Cardinal Richlieu, that he had formed two designs almost as great, in my opinion, as any that ever came into the head either of Cæsar or of Alexander. That of bringing down the protestant party had been projected by the Cardinal de Retz *, my uncle; but that of attacking the formidable house of Austria, had not been thought of by any one before him. The first of them he brought to an end, and at his death, the second was very far advanced. The warlike parts of the Duke d'Enguyen †, the present Prince of Condé, made the want of the like in the King to be no obstacle on this occasion. The famous victory at Rocroi ‡ secured the state as much as it brought glory to the Duke, and that victory made the Duke's laurels environ and cover the cradle of this present King, then an infant. Lewis XIII. who neither loved nor esteemed the Queen his wife, named a council when he died, in order to limit her power during her regency. Those whom he named for that purpose were, Cardinal Mazarin, Seguyer ||,

* Henry de Gondi, created Cardinal by the name of Retz, in 1618.

† Lewis de Bourbon, Duke of Enguyen, who by the death of his father Henry, became Prince of Conde in 1646.

‡ That battle was fought and won, upon the 19th of May, 1643, and five days after the death of Lewis XIII.

|| Chancellor.

Bouthillier *, and Chavigni. They were all of them extremely odious to the people, becauſe they all were the late Cardinal Richlieu's creatures, which made them be hiſſed at by all the footmen in the court of St. Germain's, as ſoon as the King was dead. It is certain that had the Duke of Beaufort had but common ſenſe, or had not the Biſhop of Beauvais proved a mitred aſs; or had it pleaſed my father to appear upon the ſtage, and enter into buſineſs, thoſe collaterals in the regency had infallibly been expelled with ſhame, and Cardinal Richlieu's memory had certainly been condemned by the parliament, to the mighty joy of the public.

The Queen was adored, much more in conſideration of her ſufferings, than of her merit. She had been ſeen only under perſecution; and perſecution to perſons in that high rank, ſtands them inſtead of an eminent virtue. People were willing to imagine that ſhe had borne her ſufferings with patience; the appearance of which, indolence often aſſumes. Whatever it was, it is certain that a great deal was expected from her regency; and Bautru † was uſed to ſay, That ſhe already worked miracles, becauſe the moſt godly had already forgot her coquetries.

The Duke of Orleans made ſome ſhew of diſputing the regency; and la Frette, who belonged to him, gave occaſion to ſome jealouſy, becauſe an hour after the King died, he arrived at St. Germain's with two hundred gentlemen, whom he had brought from his own country. I engaged Nangis at that ſame inſtant, to offer the Queen his regiment, which was quartered but at Mantes. He cauſed it to march to St. Germain's, where the whole regiment of guards came alſo, and the King was brought to Paris. The Duke of Orleans contented himſelf with being made Lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the Prince of Condé was declared Preſident of the council: the parliament confirmed the regency to the Queen, but without any

* Superintendant of the finances, and father to Chavigni.

† William de Bautru, Count de Serrant; a man famous for his witty repartees.

limitation:

limitation: all the exiles were recalled: all prisoners set at liberty: all criminals pardoned; and every one restored to his former post. Every thing was granted, and nothing refused: among others, Madam de Beauvais obtained leave to build in the Palace-Royale; and I have forgot the name of one that got a warrant for a tax to be laid upon masses.

Every one's private happiness seemed to be fully settled by that of the public. The strict union of the royal family had assured tranquility within the kingdom. The victory at Rocroi had destroyed for ages to come, the vigour of the Spanish infantry, and the German horse could not stand before the Weymarians *. There was seen next the throne, (from whence the fierce and formidable Richlieu had scourged, rather than governed the state) a gentle and mild successor, who desired nothing for himself, who was grieved at heart, that his rank of Cardinal did not suffer him to humble himself to every one as much as he could desire, and who appeared in the streets only with two footmen behind his coach. Was I not in the right, to say that it would not have become a man of honour to be in disgrace at court at that time; and did I not well, to dissuade Nangis from joining with the Duke of Beaufort, although, notwithstanding the service he had done at St. Germain's, he was the first to whom they refused a small gratification he had asked? I obtained it for him afterwards.

You will not wonder at the surprize in which people were, to see the Duke of Beaufort made a prisoner, at a time when all other prisoners, without exception, had been just set free. But no doubt, you will wonder that nobody saw the consequences of that imprisonment. The acting with that vigour, at a time when the power that was used was so gentle that it was hardly felt, had a very great effect. There was, it is true, nothing more easy, considering all the circumstances; but yet it appeared great, and whatever is such, is like to succeed, because there is something awe-

* The troops which after the death of Charles, Duke of Saxe-Weymar, so famous for his great actions in Germany, continued in the French pay.

ful,

ful, and nothing odious in it. What often draws a ſort of odium upon the actions of miniſters, even upon the moſt neceſſary ones, is that in the doing of them they are moſt commonly obliged to ſurmount obſtacles, the overcoming of which never fails to bring along with it envy and hatred. But when an occaſion of note offers, wherein there is nothing to overcome, becauſe there are no obſtacles, (which happens very rarely) ſuch an action gives their power a luſtre, bright, innocent, and pure, which not only ſecures it, but even makes it afterwards, almoſt as meritorious in them not to do harm, as to do good.

When people ſaw that Cardinal Mazarin had impriſoned that ſame man, who five or ſix weeks before had brought the King back to Paris, with a ſtatelineſs and pride that can hardly be conceived, every one's imagination was ſtruck with reſpect and wonder; and I remember that Chapelain*, who, when all is done, was a man of ſenſe, never grew weary of admiring that action. It was looked upon as a great favour from the miniſter, that he forbore impriſoning every week ſome body or other; and they imputed to his gentle temper, his want of opportunity to do ill. The truth is, that he ſeconded with a great deal of cunning, the luck he had. He omitted nothing that was neceſſary to make it believed that he had been forced to act as he had done, and that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé's counſels had prevailed with the Queen, notwithſtanding his advice. The day that followed the impriſonment, he appeared ſtill more moderate, more civil, and more open-hearted, than he uſed to do. Every body had free acceſs to him, and was heard with all the eaſe poſſible: they dined at his table as at a private gentleman's, and he abated much of the ſtate that is uſed, even among Cardinals that make the loweſt figure. In ſhort, he got over every body's head, at a time that every body imagined they walked by his ſide. What is more ſurpriſing is, that

* John Chapelain, of the French Academy, and author of an heroic poem, called, The Maid of Orleans, which Boileau has ſo cruelly ſatyrized.

the

the princes and great lords of the kingdom, who, for their intereſt, ought to have been more clear-ſighted than the vulgar, were the moſt blind of all. The Duke of Orleans thought that this example could not reach him: the Prince of Condé, whoſe covetouſneſs kept him tied to the court, was willing to think the like. The Duke of Enguyen was of an an age, that made him think that he might reſt ſecure under the ſhade of his laurels. The Duke of Longueville * juſt opened his eyes, but only in order to ſhut them again; the Duke of Vendôme thought it happy for him to be only removed from court; the Duke of Nemours † was but a boy; the Duke of Guiſe, who was newly come back from Bruſſels, was governed by Madam de Pons, and fancied to himſelf that he governed the court. The Duke of Bouillon expected daily to have Sedan reſtored to him: Monſieur de Turenne was more than content to have the command of the army in Germany; and the Duke of Epernon || was overjoyed to have recovered his § government and his places. The Mareſchal of Schomberg kept ever cloſe to thoſe whom he ſaw uppermoſt at court, which the Mareſchal de Grammont ‡ was a perfect ſlave to. Meſſieurs de Retz, de Vitri, and de Baſſompierre, fancied poſitively themſelves in favour, becauſe they were neither priſoners nor exiles. The parliament being delivered from the yoke which Cardinal Richlieu had kept them under, hoped to ſee golden times under a miniſter who was every day telling them that the Queen would be governed only by their advice. The clergy, who are always foremoſt in ſhewing themſelves friends to ſlavery, preached it to the people, under pretence of preaching obedience to them; and in this manner,

* Henry of Orleans, 2d of the name, Duke de Longueville.

† Charles Amedee of Savoy, Duke de Nemours, killed in 1652, by the Duke de Beaufort, whoſe ſiſter he had married.

|| Bernard de Nogaret, Duke de la Valette, and afterwards of Epernon, by the death of his father, the famous Duke of Epernon.

§ Guyenne.

‡ Anthony, the third of that name, Duke of Grammont, Peer and Mareſchal of France.

every

every body found themſelves in an inſtant become Mazarinians.

This plan, which I have been giving you, may perhaps ſeem to you of the longeſt. But you muſt conſider that it contains the four firſt years of the regency; during which, the rapid motion given to the royal authority by Cardinal Richlieu, helped by the circumſtances which I have mentioned, and by the continual advantages got over the enemies, maintained every thing in the ſtate which I have been repreſenting. There appeared in the third and fourth years, ſome ſmall clouds of diſcontent between the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Enguyen, about trifles. Something likewiſe happened between this laſt and Cardinal Mazarin, about the place of Admiral, which the Duke had a pretence to by the death of the Duke de Brezé *, his brother-in-law. But I enter not into thoſe particulars, becauſe the face of affairs was not altered by them in the leaſt; beſides, you may find them in print in all the memoirs that ſpeak of thoſe times.

Two months after my conſecration, my uncle went to Angers to ſpend the ſummer there, in an abbey he had, called St. Aubin, and charged me at his going, though much againſt his will, with the care of his dioceſe. The firſt function I diſcharged was the viſitation of the nuns of the conception, which I was put to by the Queen's command. I knew that there were in that convent above eighty of thoſe nuns, many of whom were handſome, and ſome were coquets, which made me very unwilling to expoſe my virtue with them. However there was no avoiding it; but I behaved myſelf in that affair in an edifying manner, becauſe I did not ſee the face of one of them. I would never ſpeak to them but with their veils down; and that conduct, which laſted ſix weeks, gave a mighty luſtre to my chaſtity †.

* The Duke of Enguyen was married in 1641, to this Duke de Breze's ſiſter, who was a niece of Cardinal Richlieu's.

† There are eight lines ſcratched out here in the French manuſcript, and the twelve lines that follow, and which are printed in

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I continued to do in the dioceſe all that my uncle's jealouſy gave me leave to undertake without making him angry. But there being but few things that might not have angered one of his humour, I applied myſelf much more to gain by the people's eſteem, by what I forbore to do than by what I did. Thus I found means to turn my uncle's jealouſy to my advantage, becauſe in this caſe I might ſafely ſhew my good intention in every thing; whereas had I been maſter, I could not in prudence have undertaken any thing but what I was able to perform.

Cardinal Mazarin owned to me a long while after, in the interval of one of thoſe ſorts of peace which we ſometimes clapped up together, that the firſt cauſe of the umbrage he took at my power in Paris, was his obſerving the manner in which I acted on this occaſion, though in regard to him I could mean no harm. He took umbrage at me on another occaſion with as little cauſe. I undertook to examine the ſufficiency of all the prieſts of the dioceſe, which certainly was a work more uſeful than can be conceived. I erected for that purpoſe three tribunals, compoſed of canons, of curates, and of monks. They were to reduce all the prieſts into three claſſes. The firſt was of thoſe that had ſufficiency, and thoſe were left to their eccleſiaſtical functions. The ſecond was of thoſe that had not a competent ſufficiency, but that might attain to it. And the third was of thoſe that wanted ſufficiency, and could never ſupply that want. Theſe two laſt claſſes were forbid all eccleſiaſtical functions, with this difference, that thoſe of the ſecond claſs were kept by themſelves, and had maſters to inſtruct them; whereas the third, who were likewiſe kept by themſelves, were only taught to live piouſly. You may eaſily judge, that theſe ſettlements were immenſely expenſive; but

in French, are not tranſlated, having no manner of relation to what goes before, or to what follows, and being beſides very imperfect in themſelves.

I had

I had considerable sums brought me from all parts, and there was not a pious man whose purse on this occasion was not opened with profuseness. The noise which this made displeased the Minister. He obliged the Queen to send for my uncle under a frivolous pretence; and my uncle was no sooner come, but he made use of a pretence still more frivolous, to forbid my going on with my design. Though I was well assured by my friend the Almoner, that this blow came from the Court: I bore it with a great deal more patience than might have been expected from my natural vivacity. I took no manner of notice of it, and I lived with the Cardinal as I used to do. But it was not long before I acted, or at least spoke, in a less judicious manner on another occasion. For one day, that honest Monsieur de Morangis was telling me in the Prior of the Charter-house's cell, that my expences were too great, which was but too true, for indeed I spent beyond any measure; I answered him very inconsiderately: 'I 'have computed it well: Cæsar, at my years, owed 'six times more than I do.' These words, which in every respect were extreamly foolish, were observed by a wretch of a doctor that was by, and reported to Monsieur Servien *, who told them the Cardinal with a malicious intent. The Cardinal laughed at the thing, and was in the right; but he took notice of it, and in that was not to blame.

The assembly of the clergy was held in 1645. I was desired to be present at it as Diocesan, and this may be reckoned as the true occasion of my losing the little favour at Court which I was then in.

Cardinal Richlieu had given a cruel stroke to the dignity and liberties of the clergy in the assembly of Mantes, by banishing with very odious circumstances, six of its most considerable prelates, It was resolved

* Abel Servien, Marquis of Sable, secretary of state in Lewis the XIIIth's time. He left that post in 1636, upon a belief that Cardinal Richlieu did him ill offices. He was recalled in 1643, by the Queen-regent, and sent in 1647, jointly with the Duke de Longueville, and the Count d'Avaux, Plenipotentiary to Munster, and was made in 1653 Superintendant of the Finances.

in

in this assembly to make them some sort of reparation for it, or rather, in consideration of the courage which they had shewn, to give them some marks of respect, by inviting them to take their place in this assembly, though they had no deputation for it. This resolution, which had been generally agreed on in our private conferences, was, without any ill design, and in a free and open manner, made known to the assembly; and it came not into any body's head that the Court would so much as take any notice of it. It happened by chance, that when this was to be considered, the turn of the province of Paris coming on in course, I was obliged to speak first. I proposed the matter as it had been concerted amongst all of us, which was agreed to without any manner of dissent. At my coming home, I found the steward of the Queen's household, who brought an order for my attending immediately on her Majesty. I found her upon her bed in her little grey chamber. She told me in a very shrill tone, which was natural enough to her, that she had never thought that I had been capable of offending her to the degree I had just then done, in a matter wherein the memory of her late Lord the King was wounded. It was no difficult matter for me to put her to a non-plus in answering my reasons. She brought herself off, by commanding me to tell them the Cardinal; but I found that he understood them no better than she. He spoke to me with all the haughtiness possible; and without hearing what I had to say for myself, he commanded me, in the King's name, to make the next day a public recantation in the assembly of what I had proposed there. You may well think that it would have been a hard matter to have persuaded me to it. However, I fell into no manner of passion, neither did I behave myself disrespectfully. But finding that this submissive way gained nothing upon him, I resolved to go to the Archbishop of Arles, a wise and moderate prelate, to desire him to join with me in representing our reasons to his eminence. We went accordingly and spoke to him; and we both agreed, after we had left him, that no man in the world understood less than he

he did the conſtitution of our Gallican church. I do not well remember how that affair was made up, and I believe that you little care to know it. What made me ſay ſo much about it, was only to let you ſee that I was not in the leaſt to blame in this firſt conteſt I had with the Court, and that my deference for the Cardinal, out of the regard I had for the Queen, was carried as far as patience would go.

But that virtue was put to a greater trial ſtill, three or four months after, on an occaſion which his ignorance firſt ſupplied him with, and which his malice made him purſue with all the rancour poſſible.

The Biſhop of Warmia, one of the ambaſſadors that were come to fetch the Queen * of Poland, took a fancy to celebrate himſelf the marriage in the church of Nôtre Dame. Now you muſt obſerve, that the Biſhops and Archbiſhops of Paris have never yielded thoſe ſorts of functions in their own churches but to Cardinals of the Royal Family, and that my uncle had been blamed to the laſt degree by all his clergy, for ſuffering the Cardinal de la Rochefoucaut to marry the Queen † of England. My uncle had left Paris juſt the eve of St. Dennis's Day; and was gone for the ſecond time into Anjou. The next day, which was the feſtival of that Saint, Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, brought me in the church of Nôtre Dame itſelf, a *lettre de cachet*, commanding me to prepare that church for the Biſhop of Warmia, which was worded juſt as if it had been writ to the Prevoſt-des-Marchands ‡ when he is commanded to prepare the town-houſe for a public ball. I ſhewed the Dean and Chapter the letter, and told them at the ſame time, that I made no doubt but that this came from one of the ſecretaries

* Louiſa-Mary de Gonzague, daughter to Charles Duke of Nevers and of Rhetel, and afterwards Duke of Mantua in 1627. She was married in 1645 to Ladiſlas-Sigiſmond the IVth, King of Poland.

† Henrietta-Mary of France, wife to Charles the 1ſt, King of England.

‡ A magiſtrate in Paris, ſomething reſembling the Lord-Mayor of London.

of

of ſtate's clerks, but that I would go to Fontainbleau the next day, the Court being there, to enquire into that miſtake. The Dean and Prebendaries were much moved at this, and would fain have accompanied me to Fontainbleau, which I would not permit, but I promiſed to ſend for them if there was need. I went directly to the Cardinal, and offered him reaſons and examples againſt it. I told him, that being in ſo particular a manner his humble ſervant, I hoped that he would oblige me ſo far as to repreſent all that I had ſaid to the Queen; and I omitted nothing that could have engaged him to do me that good office. It was on this occaſion that I found that he affected to ſet me at variance with her Majeſty; for though I plainly perceived that my reaſons had convinced him to a degree, that certainly made him ſorry that he had given ſuch an order before he knew the conſequences of it, yet after ſome reflection, compoſing himſelf, he continued obſtinate in his firſt reſolution after a moſt extravagant manner. And when he heard me ſpeak in the name of the Archbiſhop, and of all the clergy of Paris, he broke out into as great a paſſion as he could have done if a private man had of his own authority harangued him at the head of a troop of ſeditious men. I endeavoured to ſhew him in a reſpectful manner, what difference there was between that caſe and this; but he was ſo ignorant of our cuſtoms and manners, that he took in a very wrong ſenſe the little I ventured to ſay on this occaſion. He left me in an abrupt and uncivil manner, and ſent me back to the Queen. I found her both prepared and incenſed; ſo that all that I could get from her was, that ſhe would give the Chapter audience, becauſe I had declared, that I neither could, nor ought to do any thing in this matter but by their conſent. At that ſame inſtant I ſent for the Chapter. The Dean with ſixteen delegates arrived the next day. I carried them to the Queen; they ſpoke to her, and did it with a great deal of diſcretion, and no leſs vigour. The Queen ſent us back to the Cardinal; who to ſay the truth, ſpoke not one word to the purpoſe; and underſtanding yet but very imperfectly the ſignificancy

ſcancy of French words, told me at the end of his diſcourſe, that I had ſpoke to him very *inſolently* the day before. You may well imagine that I was ſhocked at this. But being before-hand, firmly reſolved to keep cool and moderate; I anſwered him only with a ſmile; and turning myſelf to the delegates: 'Gentle-'men (ſaid I) the word is ſmart.' He grew angry at my ſmiling, and ſpeaking with a loud voice: 'Who 'do you think (ſaid he) that you are ſpeaking to? I 'ſhall teach you manners.' I own I could hold out no longer. I replied to him, that I knew very well that I was the coadjutor of Paris ſpeaking to Cardinal Mazarin; but that to my thinking he took himſelf to be the Cardinal de Lorrain, who was ſpeaking to the Suffragan-biſhop of Metz. That expreſſion, which in the heat I was in dropped from my mouth, pleaſed all that were preſent, who were a great many. I took the Dean and Delegates along with me to dinner, deſigning immediately after to return back to Paris. But whilſt we were preparing to be gone, we ſaw the Marechal d'Eſtrées, who came to perſuade me not to bring this matter to a breach, and to tell me that it might be ſtill made up. But when he ſaw that that did not perſuade me, he ſpoke more plainly, and owned that he was ordered by the Queen to engage me to go to her. I did not deliberate upon it, but went immediately to her with the Delegates. We found her pacified and in good humour, and ſo much altered from what ſhe was, that it is not to be expreſſed. She told me in the preſence of the Delegates, that ſhe had ſent for me, not concerning the matter in queſtion, which it would be eaſy to accommodate, but to chide me for what I had ſaid to poor Cardinal Mazarin, who was as meek as a lamb, and who loved me as his own ſon. To this ſhe added all the kind uſage poſſible; and at the end commanded the Dean and Delegates to take me along with them to the Cardinal's, and to conſult there what was to be done. It was with ſome pain that I reſolved to go; and I told the Queen that none in the world but her Majeſty could have obliged me to it.

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We found the minister still gentler than the mistress. He made me a thousand excuses about the word *insolently*. He told me (and that might be true) that he thought it meant no more than *insolito* *. He shewed me all the civility imaginable, but without concluding any thing. He deferred the matter till he came himself to Paris, which he forthwith designed to do. So we returned thither to wait his orders. Four or five days after, Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, came to my house at midnight, and gave me a letter from my uncle the Archbishop, who commanded me not to oppose in any wise the Bishop of Warmia's pretensions, but to let him celebrate the Queen of Poland's marriage rites.

Had I been wise I had contented myself with what I had hitherto done, because it is always prudent to take hold of any means that are not dishonourable, to come off in any affair that one has with the Court. But I was young, and besides I was provoked; for it was plain that they had put a trick upon me at Fontainebleau, and that their kind usage there was but a blind to gain time, till they had sent to my uncle. However I kept my resentment hid from Saintot, and I seemed rather pleased that the Archbishop, my uncle, had helped me out of this trouble. But as soon as he was gone, I sent for the most considerable among the Chapter, whom I knew to be all at my disposal, and I declared my intention to them; so that when Saintot came the next morning to get the Chapter assembled, that he might, as usual, deliver to them in a body, the *lettre de cachet* which he brought for them from the King, he was forced to go back to Court with this answer: 'That the Archbishop might dispose in the manner 'he pleased of the body of the church; but that the 'choir belonging to the Chapter, they would yield it 'only to their Archbishop or to his Coadjutor.' The Cardinal understood that cant, so he resolved to have the ceremony performed in the chapel belonging to the Palais-Royal, of which he pretended that the great Almoner was Bishop. This question being still

* In an unusual manner.

of a greater importance than the other, I writ him a letter, to ſet before him what inconveniencies were like to enſue. But he was piqued, and turned my letter into ridicule. I gave, on my part, the Queen of Poland notice, That if ſhe was married in that ſort, I ſhould be forced againſt my will to declare her marriage void; but that there was an expedient to make it valid, though performed in that chapel, and that was, that the Biſhop of Warmia ſhould come to my houſe to have leave for it, from me in writing. The thing admitted of no delay, nor was there time to ſend afreſh to my uncle. The Queen of Poland was unwilling to leave any thing doubtful in her marriage, and ſo the Court was obliged to yield, and to conſent to my expedient.

You may well be tired, madam, with this long and dry account; but the ſmall conteſts which I had at that time with the Court, having a great relation with the more important ones that happened afterwards, I think that for that reaſon it is neceſſary in ſome meaſure that I ſhould mention them. I muſt therefore beg of you to have the patience to hear two or three more of the ſame nature, and then I deſign to enter into matters of greater importance, and more agreeable.

Some time after the Queen of Poland's marriage, the Duke of Orleans deſigning to come to Notre-Dame at evening prayers, upon Eaſter-Day, an officer of his guards having found my foot-carpet at its uſual place, which was juſt below the Archbiſhop's ſeat, took it away, and put the Duke's in its room. I had immediately notice given me of it; but as the leaſt ſhadow of competition with a ſon of France has a very ridiculous air, I replied, with ſome anger to thoſe of the Chapter that would have had me mind it. The Divinity-Profeſſor, who was a man of ſenſe and learning, took me aſide, and told me particulars about this matter, which I was ignorant of. He ſhewed me of what conſequence it was, to diſtinguiſh, for any cauſe whatſoever, the Coadjutor from the Archbiſhop. I was aſhamed of my ignorance; and what I was told made me wait at the church-door for the Duke's coming,

coming, and there I acquainted him with all the particulars which I had but a moment before been acquainted with myself. The Duke took what I said well. He ordered his foot-carpet to be taken away, and mine to be put in its room, and I was censed before him. Prayers being done, I laughed at myself with him, and said, 'I should be much ashamed, Sir, for 'what has just now past, had I not been told for a 'certain truth, that the meanest of the White Fryars, 'who adored the day before yesterday the cross before 'your royal highness, did it without any shame or 'difficulty.' I knew that the Duke had been at their church, and had assisted at their office upon Good-friday, and I knew besides, that every one that belongs to the church are the first which adore the cross. These words pleased the Duke, and he mentioned them at night at the circle, as a piece of politeness.

He went the next day to the Abbot de la Riviere at Petit-bourg, and the Abbot turned his head another way, making him believe that I had offered him a publick affront; so that the very day that he came back from thence, he asked aloud of the Mareschal d'Estrées, who had passed the holy-days at Cœuvres, If his parson had disputed him the precedency. You see by this, what turn was given to the conversation. The courtiers began by ridiculing of me, and at the end the Duke swore, that he would make me go to Nôtre-Dame, and there be seated below him and be censed after him. The Duke de Rohan-Chabot *, who was present when this was said, came all in a fright to tell it me, and half an hour after, I had a message from the Queen with a command to wait upon her. She at first told me that the Duke was extremely angry; that she was very sorry for it, but that he was the Duke of Orleans, and that of course she must side with him; that she would therefore ab-

* Henry Chabot, Duke of Rohan, by his marriage, in 1645, with Marguerita Dutchess of Rohan, daughter of Henry second of that name, Duke of Rohan, so famous in the civil wars in France about religion, in Lewis the XIIIth's time. We have his Memoirs, which are reckoned very good.

ſolutely have me make him a publick reparation the next Sunday at Nôtre-Dame, in the manner he had deſigned it. I leave you to judge what my anſwer to her was. She according to cuſtom referred me to the Cardinal, who at firſt told me that he intereſted himſelf very much in the pain he ſaw me in. He blamed la Riviere for his putting the Duke upon this, and he did what lay in his power, by an outward ſhew of gentleneſs and kindneſs, to bring me to the degradation that was intended. But finding that I did not bite at the hook, he changed his tone, and began to ſpeak very high and magiſterially. He ſaid, that he had ſpoke to me as a friend, but that I forced him to ſpeak now as a miniſter. He indirectly intermixed threatenings with his reflexions, and the converſation growing warm, he went ſo far as to affront me openly by ſaying, that thoſe that affected acting as St. Ambroſe did, ſhould lead the ſame life he did. In ſaying this, he raiſed his voice on purpoſe that he might be heard by two or three prelates that were at the further end of the room. I took care likewiſe not to ſpeak too ſoftly in the anſwer I made him, which was in theſe words: 'I ſhall endeavour, Sir, to make a good 'uſe of the advice your eminence gives me; but I 'ſhall tell you that in the mean time my deſign is to 'imitate St. Ambroſe on this preſent occaſion, that I 'may obtain from God by his prayers, the grace of 'imitating him in the reſt of his actions.' The converſation ended in this ſharp manner, and ſo I left him.

The Mareſchal d'Eſtreés and the Duke de Senneterre *, came to my houſe after dinner, furniſhed with all manner of rhetorical figures to perſuade me that what I called degradation, would prove honourable. But finding that they did not ſucceed that way, they inſinuated that the Duke might come to violent means, and make me do forcibly by means of his guards,

* Henry de St. Nectaire, ſecond of the name, commonly called Senneterre, Duke of la Ferte Nabert, Peer and Mareſchal of France.

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what I refuſed to do willingly. The thought ſeemed ſo ridiculous to me, that I took at firſt but little notice of it. But the ſame thing being told me in the evening by Mr. de Choiſi, Chancellor to the Duke, I put myſelf on the defenſive, and was in that extremely ridiculous. For it is eaſy to imagine how injudicious it was in me in every reſpect to take that courſe with a ſon of France, at a time that all was quiet, and that there was not the leaſt appearance of a commotion. This action, in my thinking, is the moſt fooliſh I ever did in my life, and yet it ſucceeded well. My acting in this audacious manner pleaſed the Duke d'Enguyen, to whom I had the honour to be related. He hated the Abbot de la Riviere, who had been ſo inſolent ſome days before, as to find fault with the preference given the Prince of Conti * in the nomination to the Cardinalſhip. The Duke d'Enguyen was beſides convinced that I had juſtice of my ſide, as it was certainly true, and as I had made it appear plainly in a pamphlet which I had publiſhed upon that account. He ſpoke upon that foot to the Cardinal, adding, that he would by no means ſuffer that any violence ſhould be offered me; that I was his relation, and one that loved him, and that he would not go for the army till he ſaw that affair ended.

The court feared nothing in the world ſo much as a rupture between the Duke of Orleans and the Duke d'Enguyen; and the Prince of Condé, father to the laſt, feared it ſtill more. He looked almoſt like one quite daunted, when he heard the Queen relate what his ſon had ſaid. This made him come running to my houſe, where he found three or four ſcore gentlemen, which made him believe that there was ſomething a hatching between the Duke and me, in which he was altogether miſtaken. He ſwore, he menaced, he careſſed, he prayed, and in his paſſion he let fall ſome words, by which I gathered that the Duke intereſted himſelf in my affair, more than he had expreſſed to me. I did not balance to yield at that ſame inſtant,

* Armand of Bourbon.

and I told the Prince that I would do any thing without exception, rather than suffer the royal family to fall out on my account. The Prince of Condé, who had before found me inflexible, was so touched to see me relent upon the account of the Duke his son, and precisely at the time that I had learnt from his own mouth that I might expect to be strongly protected by him, that that brought him to be more favourable to me. For instead of thinking, as he had done, that there was no satisfaction great enough for the Duke of Orleans, he now declared plainly for that which I had always offered, which was to tell the Duke before all the court, that it never came into my head to be wanting in the respect I owed him, and that what had obliged me to act as I had done at Nôtre-Dame, was the order of the church, which I came to give him an account of. This was executed just in that manner, to the great grief of Cardinal Mazarin and of la Riviere. But the Prince of Condé had put them into such a fear of the Duke his son, that they were forced to yield. The Prince carried me to the Duke of Orleans, where all the court out of curiosity was present. I said no more to him, than precisely the words I just now mentioned. He approved of every thing I said, and he carried me to see his medals; and so ended an affair which was right in the bottom, but which I had like to have spoiled by my way of managing it.

As this contest, and that which I had about the Queen of Poland's marriage, made me stand but upon a very ill foot at court; you may judge what turn the courtiers were pleased to give to those actions. But I experienced on this occasion, that the greatest powers cannot hurt the reputation of a man that maintains his credit amongst his own body. All the learned men of the clergy declared for me, and in a very little time I found that even those that had blamed me, fancied that they had only pitied me. The like observation I have made on a thousand other occasions.

I even forced the court some time after to speak in my praise. The assembly of the clergy drew now near

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an end, and was just upon the point of considering about the gift that is usual to be made to the King. I was glad to shew the Queen, by the compliance I resolved to have for her on this occasion, that the resistance which my dignity had put me upon in the two preceding ones, did not come from a principle of ingratitude. I separated from the band of the zealots, at whose head was the Archbishop of Sens. I united with the Archbishop of Arles, and the Bishop of Châlons, whose zeal was as great, but was better qualified. I even waited, with the first of those prelates, on the Cardinal, who remained very well satisfied with me, and who said publickly, that he found me no less firm for the King's service, than for the honour of my character. I had the task laid upon me of haranguing the assembly, which is always done when it comes to an end. That speech is printed, and so it is needless to mention any particulars. The clergy approved of it, the court commended it, and the Cardinal at his coming from it, carried me to sup with him tête-a-tête. He seemed fully undeceived about the notions which some people would have had him have of me, and I really believe that he thought himself so. But I was too well with the Parisians to be long well with the minister. That was my crime with an Italian, who was a politician by book; and the danger to which that crime exposed me, was so much the greater, as I omitted nothing to aggravate it by the expence I made, which appeared natural and without affectation, and to which a kind of negligence gave even a greater lustre; by my charities that were great, and by my liberalities, of which the echo often resounded the more, the more I had taken care to conceal them. The truth is, that I was at first led into this manner of living by no other motive than my natural inclination, and the single view of my duty. The necessity of maintaining myself afterwards against the court, obliged me to continue to live in that manner, and even with more splendor. But we are not yet come to those particulars. What I have said here, is only to let you see

that the court took umbrage at me, at a time when I had not so much as considered that I could occasion it. It is from that consideration, as well as from others, that you have sometimes heard me say, that one is oftener deceived by mistrusting people than by confiding in them. In fine, the foot I lived upon in Paris created in the minister's mind a new jealousy, which obliged him, after what he had already done against me, and after his being seemingly reconciled, to use me three months after as ill as before.

Cardinal Richlieu had deprived the Bishop of Leon of the house of Rieux, with formalities altogether injurious to the dignity and liberties of the Gallican church. The assembly of the clergy of 1645 undertook to restore him. The contest was great: Cardinal Mazarin, according to his custom, yielded, after having disputed long. He came to the assembly himself, to acquaint them that he consented that the Bishop should be restored; and upon passing his word that it should be done within three months, the assembly separated. I was named, whilst he was present, to solicit the necessary dispatches, because my stay at Paris might be the best relied on. The Cardinal gave afterwards all manner of demonstrations that he intended to keep faithfully his word; and he made me write two or three times to the provinces, that nothing was more to be relied on. When the thing came to a conclusion, he altered his mind of a sudden, and caused the Queen to press me to give that affair a turn, which had infallibly dishonoured me. I did all I could to bring him to himself, and I acted with a patience not to be expected from one of my age. But at a month's end, I found it exhausted, and I resolved to inform the several provinces of the whole proceeding with that sincerity which my conscience and honour required of me. As I was upon the point of sealing my circular letters about that affair, the Duke de Enguyen came to my house, and after he had read one, he snatched it from me, saying, that he would put an end to that affair. He accordingly went at that same instant to the Cardinal:

dinal: he convinced him of the ill consequences; and so I had my dispatches* - - - - - - - - -
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I think, I have already told you, that the first four years of the regency were in some sort carried along by the rapid motion that Cardinal Richlieu had given to the royal authority. Cardinal Mazarin, his disciple, and one besides born and educated in a country where the Pope's authority has no bounds, took that rapid motion to be the most natural, and that mistake of his was the occasion of the civil war. I say, that it was only the occasion of it; for, in my opinion, one must go much further back to find out its cause.

It is above 1200 years, since Fracce has been governed by Kings: but those Kings have not always been so absolute as they now are. Their power, it is true, was never limited by written laws, as that of the Kings of England and of Arragon. It was only tempered by received customs, which at first were deposited in the hands of the three estates, and since that, in the hands of the parliaments. The registering of treaties made with other crowns, and the verification of edicts for levying money on the people, are now images almost defaced of that wise medium which our forefathers had found between the over-stretching of the Prince's power, and the licentiousness of the people. That medium has been looked upon by wise and good princes, as a seasoning to their power, extremely useful for making the people relish it the better. But it has been looked upon by unskilful and ill disposed princes, as a bar to their excesses and to their caprices. The history we have of the Sire de Joinville†, shews us clearly that St. Lewis knew and esteemed that medium, and every one may be convinced by the works

* There are here five leaves torn out.

† John Sire de Joinville, Seneschal of Champaigne, lived in the time of Lewis IX. called St. Lewis, in 1260. He was one of the first lords of the court, and having accompanied St. Lewis in all his expeditions, he wrote the life of that King, which is much valued.

of Oreſme †, Biſhop of Lizieux, and by thoſe of the famous Juvenal-des-Urſins ‡, that Charles V. who is deſervedly ſtiled the Wiſe, never believed his power ſuperior to the laws, or to his duty. Lewis XI. a Prince more crafty than wiſe, was guilty in that point, as well as in all others, of a breach of faith ‖. Lewis XII. would have brought that medium again into credit, if the ambition of the Cardinal d'Amboiſe §, who governed that Prince in an abſolute manner, had not oppoſed it. The inſatiable avarice of the Conneſtable de Montmorency * bent him more ſtrongly upon extending the power of Francis I. than upon the keeping it within bounds. The vaſt and remote deſigns of thoſe of the houſe of Guiſe did not permit them, under Francis II. to think of regulating that power. Under Charles IX. and Henry III. the court was ſo exceſſively tired with commotions, that whatever was not downright ſubmiſſion was accounted rebellion. Henry IV. who diſtruſted not the laws, becauſe he confided in himſelf, ſhewed what eſteem he had for them by his regard to the bold remonſtrance of Miron, Proveſt-des-Marchands, about the town-houſe rents. The Duke de Rohan ** uſed to ſay that Lewis XIII. grew jealous of his power, for want of rightly knowing the nature of it. The Mareſchal d'Ancre ††, and the Duke de Luines ‡‡, were themſelves too ignorant, to be able to inform him right. Cardinal Richlieu, who

† Nicholas Oreſme, Preceptor to Charles V.

‡ John Juvenal-des-Urſins, who after ſeveral employments in the magiſtracy, in which he grew beloved of, and powerful with the people, became a clergyman, and was made Biſhop of Beauvais, and afterwards of Laon; and laſt of all, Archbiſhop of Rheims.

‖ Philip de Comines in his Memoirs deſcribes to the life of Lewis XI.

§ George, Cardinal of Amboiſe, Prime Miniſter to King Lewis XII.

* Anne of Montmorency, Conneſtable of France.

** Henry, ſecond of that name.

†† Concino Concini, killed in the Louvre in 1617.

‡‡ Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luines, and Conneſtable of France.

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ſucceeded thoſe miniſters, made (if I may ſay ſo) a fund of all the ill intentions, and of all the errors of the two laſt ages, to make uſe of them as his intereſt required. He diſguiſed them into maxims uſeful and neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the royal authority, and fortune favouring his deſigns, by his diſarming the proteſtant party in France, by the victories of the Swedes, by the weak ſtate the empire was in, and by the incapacity of Spain, he formed in the moſt lawful of all monarchies, the moſt ſcandalous and moſt dangerous tyranny, that has perhaps ever enſlaved a kingdom. Cuſtom, which in ſome countries has made people not afraid of fire, has hardened us to things of which our forefathers were even more afraid than of fire itſelf. We are now eaſy under that ſlavery which they deteſted, more out of regard to their maſter's intereſt than to their own; and Cardinal Richlieu hath turned into crimes, thoſe things which formerly were reckoned virtues. The Mirons, the Harlays, the Marillacs, the Pibracs, and the Fayes; thoſe martyrs of ſtate, who diſſipated more factions by their good and wholeſome maxims than either the Spaniſh or Engliſh gold ever raiſed, have been the defenders of a doctrine, for the preſervation of which, Cardinal Richlieu confined the Preſident de Barillon to Amboiſe. He is the firſt who has puniſhed magiſtrates for ſpeaking thoſe truths which they had ſworn to maintain, even to the hazard of their lives.

Kings that have been wiſe, and that have known their true intereſt, have depoſited their own ordinances in the hands of their parliaments, with a view chiefly of diſcharging themſelves of part of the envy and hatred which the execution of theſe ordinances, even of thoſe that are the moſt neceſſary and the moſt ſacred, muſt ſometimes occaſion. They have not thought it beneath them, to bind themſelves to the obſervation of them: like, in that caſe, to God Almighty, who himſelf follows what he has decreed. Miniſters, when blinded ſo far by their own intereſt, as not to be content with what the ordinances allow, think of nothing elſe but deſtroying them; and it is what Cardi-

nal Richlieu has done more than any other, and with no leſs imprudence than application.

God alone is able to ſubſiſt, by his own power, kingdoms that have the beſt foundations; and Kings, whoſe power is the greateſt, cannot ſubſiſt but by the union of laws, and of arms, and that union is ſo neceſſary, that the one is inſignificant without the help of the other. Laws that are not ſupported by arms are quickly deſpiſed, and arms that are not tempered by laws turn quickly to anarchy. The Roman commonwealth being deſtroyed by Julius Cæſar, the power, which was by his arms devolved to his ſucceſſors, laſted no longer than whilſt they were able to keep the laws in authority. As ſoon as that authority was loſt, that of the Emperors vaniſhed away, by the very means of thoſe who by being their favourites, got the power into their own hands, and converted to their own ſubſtance that of their maſters, whom, they ſucked (if I may uſe that expreſſion) with impunity, there being no laws left to controul them. The Roman empire expoſed to ſale, and that of the Ottomans to the halter, are bloody ſigns of the blindneſs of thoſe who would have authority to conſiſt only in force.

But why do I go into foreign countries to find out examples, when we have ſo many of our own? Pepin and Capet made uſe (the firſt to dethrone the Merov'ng'ans, and the ſecond, the Carlovingians) only of the ſame power which the miniſters that preceded the one and the other, had acquired under the name of their maſters. It is to be obſerved, that the mayors of the palace, and the Counts of Paris, uſurped their maſter's throne, exactly by the ſame ways by which they had gained a power over their minds, that is, by altering and weakening of the national laws, which never fails to pleaſe at firſt, princes of little ability, becauſe they think it a means to increaſe their power, though, in ſequel of time, it ſerves for a pretence to the great, and for an inducement to the people, to rebel.

Cardinal Richlieu was too ſkillful not to have ſet all this before his eyes; but he ſacrificed all to his ambition,

tion. He resolved to govern according to his inclination, which would admit of no restraints, even in things where they would not have hurt his designs. In short, he acted in a manner that had he had a successor of his merit, I do not know whether the name of First Minister, which he first assumed, had not become in a little time as odious in France, as by the event we know the names of Mayors of the palace, and of Counts of Paris have been. But Providence prevented it, at least in one sense; for Cardinal Mazarin, who succeeded him, could give the state no suspicion of his usurping the throne. These two ministers having contributed so much, though in a different manner, to the civil war, I think it is necessary that I should give you their characters, and compare them together.

Cardinal Richlieu was a gentleman of a good family. There were seen in him from his youth great signs of his future merit. He distinguished himself in the Sorbonne, and he discovered betimes a great strength and vivacity of mind. His determinations were commonly right. He was true to his word, except when some considerable interest induced him to the contrary, and then he did what in him lay to keep up the appearance of an upright man. He was not liberal, but he gave more than he promised, and he seasoned his gifts admirably well. He carried his love for glory a great deal further than morality allows of; but it must be owned, that though he gave way, even to excess, to his ambition, the ill use he made of it never went further than what he was able to support by his own merit. Neither his mind nor his heart were superior to danger, but neither sunk under it; though it is certain that he prevented more dangers by his prudence than he overcame by his courage. He was a good friend, and I may even say that he would have been glad to have gained the public love. But though he neither wanted civility, nor many other qualities fit for that purpose, he never had that *je ne scai quoi*, more requisite in this case than any other. His power and stateliness which appeared royal, eclipsed the Majesty of the Prince, but he discharged the royal functions

functions with that dignity, that none but those that were above the vulgar could perceive in this point what was good and what was evil. No body in the world was better able than he to distinguish between what is ill and what is worse, what is good and what is better; which is a great qualification in a minister. He was too impatient in small matters, which are a prelude to greater; but that defect, which proceeds from the sublimity of the mind, is always followed with a clearness of understanding that makes amends for it. His stock of religon was sufficient for this world. He was led to do good, either by his own good sense, or by his inclination, whenever his interest did not lead him a contrary way, in which case he had a perfect knowledge of the ill he did. His regard for the state extended no farther than his life, though never minister took more pains to have it believed, that he had the future good of it in view. In fine, it must be owned that all his vices were of a nature easy to be made illustrious by a great fortune, because they could not be put to use but by the help of great virtues.

It is easy for you to judge, that a man endowed with these great parts, and even with the appearance of others which he really wanted, preserved in the world, without any great difficulty, that sort of respect which separates contempt from hatred, and which in a kingdom where the laws are extinguished, is able to supply their defect, at least for some time.

Cardinal Mazarin's character was quite the reverse. His extraction was mean and his childhood infamous. At his leaving the colisæum *, he learned to cheat, and was well cudgelled for it by one Moretto, a silversmith in Rome. He was a captain of foot in the Valtoline, and Bagni (who was his general in that war, which lasted but three months) has told me, that he was then reckoned no better than a sharper. He got to be Nuntio in extraordinary in France, by Cardinal Antonio Barberini's favour, which at that time was

* The colisæum was an amphitheatre at Rome, but here it must signify a college.

not

not to be obtained by any honeſt means. He pleaſed Chavigny by his lewd Italian tales, and by Chavigny's means he pleaſed Richlieu, who made him a Cardinal with the ſame view, as it was believed, that obliged Auguſtus to leave Tiberius to ſucceed him in the empire. He continued a ſervant under Richlieu, notwithſtanding the purple he wore. The Queen having made choice of him for want of another (which is the truth, let people ſay what they pleaſe) he appeared at firſt as the original of Prince Trapelin. Fortune having blinded him as well as all others, he ſat up himſelf, and was ſet up by others, for a Richlieu; but he got no more by it than the impudence of attempting to be his ape, though what the firſt had thought honourable, this thought ſhameful. He turned religion into a jeſt. Nobody could be more prodigal of his promiſes, becauſe he intended to break them all. He was neither gentle nor cruel, becauſe he kept no remembrance either of benefits or of injuries. He loved himſelf too well, which is natural to cowardly ſouls. He reſpected himſelf too little, which is the character of thoſe who have no value for their reputation. His fear made him foreſee danger tolerably well, but his prudence being leſs than his fear, he could not prevent it to a like degree. He was a man that had wit, inſinuation, pleaſantry and manners; but the baſe heart appeared through all, and to that degree, that in his adverſity it gave a ridiculous air to thoſe qualities, which in his proſperity were not able to take from him the air of an impoſtor. He carried the tricks of a ſharper into the miniſtry, which none beſides him has ever done; and thoſe tricks made his miniſtry, even when proſperous and abſolute, to appear unbecoming, and brought contempt upon it, which is the worſt ſymptom that can appear in a ſtate, and of which the ill effects are the moſt eaſily communicated from the head to the reſt of the body.

It is not difficult to imagine, from what I have ſaid, that this laſt adminiſtration, which ſucceeded immediately to that of the Cardinal de Richlieu, but differed ſo much from it, could not but meet with many diſappointments.

I have

I have already set before your view the four first years of the regency, as they appeared outwardly; and I have likewise mentioned the effect which the Duke de Beaufort's imprisonment had at first upon people's minds. It is certain, that it imprinted a respect for the minister, which the purple he wore had not been able to do before. Ondedei, who has been since Bishop of Frejus, has told me, that on this occasion the Cardinal made a jest in his presence of the levity of the French nation; but at the same time he added, that four months after, the Cardinal held himself in admiration, and in his fancy thought himself equal, nay, superior to Richlieu. It would require volumes, should I relate all his blunders, the least of which were of an extreme importance, for a reason which deserves a particular observation.

Cardinal Richlieu, as I have before hinted, had given the last stroke that brought the ancient laws of the kingdom to an end. Mazarin, who affected to be his ape, took the same way. This way was bordered with precipices on all sides, of which Cardinal Richlieu was not ignorant; but Mazarin did not make use of the supports with which the other had assured his march. An example will explain my meaning better, and that meaning is of a pretty large extent. Cardinal Richlieu had affected to depress societies, but not without shewing a special regard for the particular members of those bodies. I think that this is enough to let you into the rest. What is surprizing as to Mazarin is, that every thing helped to delude him. I must own however, that there were reasons natural enough for his delusion. You have already seen some in the disposition in which he found the affairs, as well as the several bodies, and the particular minds of people. But at the same time it must be owned, that that delusion was of a very extraordinary kind, and was carried to a great excess.

The greatest degree of delusion in a minister is to mistake a state of lethargy in a kingdom, for a state of rest, and even of health. The lethargy I mean, and into which France was fallen, is always preceeded by ill

ill and dangerous ſymptoms. The overthrowing of the ancient laws, the deſtroying thoſe boundaries which they have placed between the King and the people, and the eſtabliſhing arbitrary and abſolute power, were the original ſymptoms of the convulſive fits that our fathers have ſeen France labour under, and which preceded the lethargy I ſpeak of. Cardinal Richlieu, like an empiric, made uſe of violent medicines, which by the ſtruggles they occaſioned made her appear outwardly ſtrong and vigorous, but in the main helped to exhauſt her. Cardinal Mazarin, who was a very unſkilful phyſician, knew nothing of the weakneſs ſhe was in; and inſtead of the chymical ſecrets with which the other tried to ſupport her, he weakened her the more by evacuations, and was the cauſe of the lethargy ſhe at laſt fell into, which his ignorance made him miſtake for a ſtate of reſt, and even of health. The provinces, expoſed as a prey to ſuperintendants, after the ſeveral ſtruggles they had made in Cardinal Richlieu's time, which had only ſerved to increaſe and exaſperate their evils, ſunk at laſt under their loads, and remained in a ſtate of drowſineſs. Parliaments, which were but juſt before groaning under the yoke, were in a manner grown inſenſible of their preſent miſeries by the too quick ſenſe they preſerved ſtill of thoſe they had lately felt. The great men, who moſt of them had been baniſhed the kingdom, ſpent their time idly in their beds, which they had been overjoyed to come to again. Had that general drowſineſs been well managed, it might perhaps have laſted longer: but the miniſter miſtaking it for a gentle ſleep, took no care about it. The diſeaſe grew worſe; the head awaked, Paris felt its ails, and groaned aloud; theſe groans were not regarded, and this turned the diſeaſe into a phrenzy.——Let us come to particulars.

Emeri, ſuperintendant of the finances, and in my opinion the moſt corrupt man of his age, wanted only ſpecious titles to build his edicts upon. I cannot better deſcribe the baſeneſs of the man, and likewiſe his want of judgment, than by telling you what I myſelf have heard

heard him say openly at the Council-Board: 'That 'honesty was fit only for merchants, and that those 'masters of requests that alledged it as a reason in affairs 'that related to the King, deserved punishment.' That man, who when young was sentenced at Lyons to be hanged, governed Cardinal Mazarin even with imperiousness, in all affairs within the kingdom. I made choice of this observation, amongst above a dozen of the like nature, to let you see that the disease was come to its height, a sign of which is always when those that command have lost all shame, because from that moment those that obey lose all respect; and it is at this time that the people recover of their lethargy by falling into convulsions.

The Switzers seemed in some sort smothered with the load of their chains, when the revolt of three of their chiefest cantons formed their leagues *. The Hollanders thought themselves quite subdued by the Duke of Alba, when the Prince of Orange †, by a fate reserved to great genius's who can see before others the possibility of things, conceived and brought forth their liberty. These are examples, and the thing is founded upon reason. The cause of the drowsiness in people that are in a suffering state, is the continuance of the evil, which works upon their fancy, and makes them believe that it will never cease. But as soon as they find any room to hope, which always happens when the evil is come to a certain point, they are in such a surprize, such a joy, and such transports, that they are of a sudden carried to another extream, and instead of looking upon revolutions as impossible, they become easy in their eyes; and that disposition, without any other help, is sometimes able to bring those revolutions about. It is what we have experienced and felt in our last revolution: Whoever had said three months before the dawn of the troubles, that there could happen any in a kingdom where the royal family was perfectly united, where the Court was a slave to

* In the year 1307.

† William, the ninth of that name, who was killed in the year 1584.

the

the minister, where the capital city and all the provinces were under his yoke, where the armies were victorious, and where the parliaments seemed altogether disabled; who should have said this, had passed for a mad-man, not only among the vulgar, but even among the d'Estrées * and the Senneterres. A little feeling, a faint glimmering, a spark of life, appear all of a sudden. This first sign of life, hardly perceivable in the beginning, did not proceed either from the Duke of Orleans, or from the Prince of Condé; it did not proceed from the prime men of the kingdom, nor from the provinces; it proceeded from the parliament, who till that day had never begun a revolution, and who had certainly put out severe arrests against this, had they not been themselves the authors of it. They murmured at the edict that established a Tarif †, and no sooner had they done that, but every body began to awake. At their awaking, they groped in the dark to find out the laws, but no laws were to be found. People began to be feared, and to call aloud for them; and in this agitation, the questions that arose from the explaining of them, from obscure which they were before, and made venerable by their being so, became doubtful, and from thence hateful to half of the people. Every one was thereby let into the sanctuary, and there they pulled off the veil that ought always to hide what may either be said or believed about the King's and the people's rights, which never agree better than by not being spoke of: and so it came that the palace-hall profaned these mysteries. I now come to particular facts, the detail of which will make the thing clearer.

I shall pick out, from an infinite number, but two of those facts, for fear of being tiresome, and because one of them hath occasioned the first wound, and the other has much exasperated it: as for other facts, I shall but just mention them.

* By what we read in the account of those times, both these Dukes were looked upon as the most accomplished courtiers, and the men of the greatest penetration.

† Or book of rates.

The

The parliament that hitherto had not oppoſed and had even verified a great number of edicts, deſtructive not only to private people, but to the public, could at laſt hold out no longer; and in the month of Auguſt, of the year 1647, began to exclaim at the edict that eſtabliſhed a Tarif, whereby a general exciſe was laid upon all manner of proviſions and wares that were brought into Paris. That edict had been verified above a year before in the court of aids, by virtue of which it had been put in execution, and that made the upper council * the more intent upon the maintaining it. Having had notice that the parliament was upon the point of forbidding the execution, or rather the continuance of it, they conſented that it ſhould be carried before that Court for their examination, hoping that they might elude, as they had done on ſo many other occaſions, the reſolutions of that company. But they found themſelves miſtaken: the meaſure was full; the minds of people were in a ferment, and all was tending to the rejecting of the edict. The Queen ſent for the parliament: deputies from their body went to the Palais-Royal: there the chancellor aſſerted, that the verification belonged to the court of aids, but the firſt Preſident conteſted it for the parliament †. Car-

* The upper council is that wherein affairs of which the King will himſelf take cognizance, are treated of, and of which the arreſts are, by the King's order, ſigned by one of the Secretaries of State. There is beſides a council of ſtate, of which the Chancellor is Preſident. It is compoſed of twelve Counſellors in ordinary, and of twelve who ſerve their half-year by turns; of three Eccleſiaſtic Counſellors, and of three gentlemen of the ſword; of the Comptroller-general of the finances, and of two Intendants of the finances. Affairs which are to be carried before the upper council, are examined and prepared here.

† The word parliament is a name given to ſeveral ſovereign courts of judicature in France. There are nine parliaments beſides that of Paris, which is however reckoned the firſt, not only upon account of its antiquity, but of many great privileges. The Dukes and Peers of France have a right to ſit and vote in that court, which is therefore called the Court of Peers, and it is in that court that the King holds his bed of juſtice, which is, when he aſſiſts in it upon ſolemn occaſions, either by coming himſelf to the place where the court commonly ſits, or by ſending for the court to the

dinal Mazarin, the moſt ignorant of all men in thoſe matters, ſaid that he wondered that ſo conſiderable a body as the parliament ſhould buſy themſelves about ſuch trifles. I leave you to judge whether that word was taken notice of.

Emeri having propoſed a private conference for finding out means to bring the matter to an accommodation, it was debated the next day in full parliament, whether or no there ſhould be a conference. After a long and various debate, wherein many were for refuſing it as needleſs and even captious, the conference was granted. But it came to nothing, for they could not agree. The council upon this, fearing that the parliament would give out an arreſt to forbid the con-

the place which he appoints. The Dukes and Peers, and other great officers of the crown, are ſworn there, and are tried there when they are accuſed of any crime. No edict, ordinance, or declaration put out by the King, is of any force till it is verified and regiſtered there. It is compoſed of eight chambers, (beſides the court of requeſts) viz. the grand chamber, where cauſes are determined upon the hearing of advocates; five chambers of inqueſts, where pleadings in writing are examined and determined; and the two chambers of Tournelle, the civil, erected by Lewis XIV. and the criminal, in which affairs and crimes of leſſer moment are examined and determined by a number of Preſidents and Counſellors taken from the grand chamber and the chamber of inqueſts. There are likewiſe two chambers of requeſts of the palace, the Judges of which are called Maſters of Requeſts, four of whom only have a right to ſit and vote in the parliament. The grand chamber is compoſed of the firſt Preſident, and of ſeven other Preſidents a Mortier, and of twenty-nine Counſellors (or Judges) viz. ten eccleſiaſtics, and nineteen lay. Each chamber of inqueſts is compoſed of two Preſidents and twenty-eight Counſellors (or Judges). The two chambers of Tournelle (as has been ſaid) are compoſed of Preſidents and Counſellors, taken from the other chambers. All theſe chambers act ſeparately, except when they are all aſſembled together upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, and then they are called the aſſembly of parliament. What is called the aſſembly of the chambers is, when the grand chamber calls together ſuch of their members as make part of the two chambers of Tournelle, which is done when any criminal of note is to be tried. There is beſides theſe a chamber called the chamber of vacations, which is compoſed of ſelect members from all the chambers, eſtabliſhed to judge of cauſes both civil and criminal during the vacations of the parliament.

tinuance

tinuance of the edict, which the people had certainly taken hold of, put out themselves a declaration for suppressing it, that thereby the King's authority might be preserved, at least outwardly. Some days after the court sent to the parliament five edicts, more burthensome than that of the Tarif was, not with any hope that they should be received there, but with a view of bringing back the parliament to accept of that first edict. That company came indeed back to it, and rejected the others; but in admitting the edict for the Tarif, they did it with so many limitations, that the court thought that it would not answer their purpose, and therefore being at Fontainebleau in the month of September, they issued out an arrest from the upper council, that annulled that of the parliament, and that sat up again the edict of the Tarif without any limitations. The chamber * of vacations answered this arrest by another, that ordered that of the parliament to be put in execution.

The council finding that they could levy no money that way, sent the parliament word, that since they were against new edicts, they ought at least to suffer those that had been verified formerly by their company, to be put in execution. Accordingly they renewed a declaration that had been registered two years before, for the establishing a chamber of the King's demesnes, which was excessively burthensome to the people, and of a worse consequence still than the edict was. The parliament had verified that declaration either out of fear, or by surprize. This brought the people to a mutiny. They went in bands to the parliament, and there gave very ill language to the President de Thoré, who was son to Emeri. The parliament was obliged to put out severe arrests against the seditious; and the court, well pleased to set the parliament at variance with the people, sent some regiments of guards to support those arrests. This alarmed the people: they got up to the belfries of the

* The vacations of the parliament begin upon the 8th of September, from which time to the 28th of October, the chamber of vacation sits.

three

three churches in St. Dennis's-ſtreet, where the guards were come. The Prevoſt des Marchands gives notice to the Queen, that the whole city is upon the point of taking up arms. The guards are ordered to withdraw, with an aſſurance to the Prevoſt des Marchands that they were ſent only upon occaſion of the King's coming in ceremony to Nôtre-Dame. Accordingly the King failed not to come thither the next day in great ſtate, to cover the deſign, and the day after he came to the courts of parliament, without notifying his coming but the night before, and that very late. He carried thither five or ſix edicts, every one more deſtructive than the other, and which were not till that moment communicated to the King's council. The firſt Preſident * ſpoke very boldly againſt that way of bringing the King to the parliament, in order to gain votes by ſurprize, and to take away the liberty of voting.

The very next day, the Maſters of Requeſts, to whoſe number one of thoſe edicts (which owed its verification to the King's preſence) added twelve colleagues, aſſembled at the place where they hold their pleas, which is called the requeſts of the palace, and there they came to a firm reſolution of oppoſing that addition of twelve members to their body. The Queen ſends for them, and calls them a pretty ſet of men, to think of oppoſing the King's will; and that ſaid, forbids them to aſſiſt any longer at the council † board. This rouzed them up, inſtead of frightening them. They came to the grand chamber, and there proteſted againſt the edict before-mentioned, and they had an act of their proteſtation granted them.

The chambers aſſembled the ſame day to examine the edicts which the King had cauſed to be verified whilſt he was preſent there. The Queen thereupon orders deputies from their body to be ſent to her, to

* Matthew Mole, Lord of Laſſy and of Champlatreux, born in 1584, and died in 1656,

† There are conſtantly ſome of the Maſters of Requeſts attending the council-board, to make their report of petitions referred to them.

whom

whom the Lord Chancellor * in her name said: 'That 'her Majesty was much surprized at their pretensions 'of revisiting what the King's presence had rendered 'sacred.' These were the very words the Chancellor used. The first President answered him, that such was the practice of the parliament, which he justified by reasons founded upon the necessity of giving their votes in a free manner. The Queen seemed satisfied with what was alledged; but finding some days after, that their deliberations tended to give such limitations to those edicts, that they would thereby become almost insignificant, she ordered the King's council † in parliament, to forbid that company in her name to go on any further in their examinations, till they had publicly declared whether they intended to set bounds to the royal authority. Those of the company that were for the court, made use very dextrously of the disorders which this question occasioned, to bring the rest of the members to a better temper, by adding a clause to their arrest of limitation, that should submit it to the King's pleasure. That clause pleased the Queen for a moment; but being well informed that, after all, most of the edicts would be rejected by a great majority, she fell into a passion, and declared to the parliament, that she would have all the edicts without exception to be fully executed, without any manner of limitation.

The Duke of Orleans carried the next day to the chamber of accounts the edicts that related to that chamber; and the Prince of Conti, in the absence of the Prince of Condé, who was already gone to the army, carried to the court of aids those that concerned them.

I have hitherto run over these matters, though necessary to this relation, with a mighty haste, that I might the sooner come to something much more important, and which exasperated all other matters, as I

* Peter Seguier, Duke de Villemor, Peer of France, &c.

† Composed of the Attorney-general, (whose post and office has been before mentioned and explained) and of two Advocates-general, one of whom opens the matters with which the Attorney-general is charged, either for the King, the publick, the church, or minors.

have

have hinted before. The chamber of accounts and the court of aids were neither of them satisfied with having given the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Conti a vigorous answer by their first presidents; but immediately after, the court of aids sent to the chamber of accounts to ask for an union with them for the reforming the state. The chamber of accounts agreed to it, and both together they got the grand council chamber to join with them. Those three bodies desired the conjunction of the parliament, which was joyfully granted, and immediately performed in one of the chambers of the parliament, which is called the chamber of St. Lewis.

The truth is, that that union, which took for its pretext the reformation of the state, might very naturally be founded on the private interest of the members, one of these edicts being put out on purpose to retrench a considerable part of their allowance; and the court, which was surprized and troubled to the last degree at this arrest of union, thought fit to make use of this colour to discredit it in the people's minds.

In the mean while, the Queen sent the parliament word by the king's council, That hearing that the union was really made only in relation to the private concerns of the companies, and not for any reformation in the state, as at first people would make her believe; she found no fault with them as to that, because it is ever lawful for every one to represent their grievances to the King, though nobody is ever permitted to intermeddle in the government of the state. The parliament fell not into this snare, and being incensed at the arresting of Turcan and d'Argouges, two counsellors of the grand council, who by order of the ministers were taken forcibly away two nights before Whitsunday; as likewise at the arresting of Lotin, Dreux, and Guerin, which was done immediately after; all their thoughts were now bent on justifying their proceeding, and on finding out precedents for their arrest of union. In examining the records, the President de Novion found out precedents, and they were upon the point of deliberating in what manner

their arreſt was to be executed, when Le Pleſſis-guenegaut, ſecretary of ſtate, came to their bar, and delivered to the King's council an arreſt of the upper council, that annulled, even with abuſive words, the arreſt which the four companies had made about their union. The parliament, after deliberating, anſwered this arreſt of the upper council no otherwiſe than by inviting, in a ſolemn manner, the three other companies to meet them the next day by their deputies, at two in the afternoon in the chamber of St. Lewis.

The court, extremely incenſed at this proceeding, thought on an expedient of the loweſt and moſt ridiculous ſort, which was to get into their own hands the minutes of this laſt reſolution. Du Tillet, the chief regiſter, being aſked for them, and ſaying that they were in the under regiſter's hands, this laſt was clapped into a coach by Le Pleſſis-guenegaut, and Carnavalet, lieutenant of the life-guards, and carried to the regiſtry to look for them. This was perceived by the people, who roſe up in arms, and it was well for the ſecretary of ſtate and the officer that they could eſcape. At ſeven in the morning the next day, the parliament was ordered to come to the Queen, and to bring with them the ſaid minutes, whereby the three other companies were invited to meet in the chamber of St. Lewis. Being arrived, Mr. le Tellier * aſked the firſt Preſident whether he had the minutes, who anſwered him that he had not, and would tell the Queen the reaſon why. The upper council debated upon this, and diſagreed in their opinions. It is ſaid that the Queen was pretty much inclined to keep the parliament priſoners, but nobody ſided with her in that point, which indeed was impracticable, conſidering the diſpoſition the people was in. They came therefore to more moderate meaſures. The Chancellor reprimanded the parliament very ſeverely in the preſence of the King and all the court, and at the ſame time a new order of the upper council was read to them, for the annulling the

* Michael le Tellier, Secretary of State at that time, and ſince made Chancellor, by Lewis XIV. He was father to the Marquis de Louvoi, and died in 1685, aged 83.

parliament's

parliament's laſt reſolution, and for forbidding the aſſemblies of the four companies upon pain of being declared rebels; commanding them at the ſame time to have this order of council inſerted in their record-book, in the room of their arreſt for an union.

This happened in the morning, and that very afternoon the deputies of the four companies met in St. Lewis's chamber, which ſhewed the utmoſt contempt for the upper council's order. The parliament likewiſe aſſembled at their uſual time to deliberate upon what was to be done in relation to the ſaid order that had annulled their own arreſt of union, and had forbid the continuance of their aſſemblies. I deſire that you would obſerve that their deliberation upon this point was an actual diſobedience, becauſe they were expreſsly forbid to deliberate at all. Every body being willing to deliver their opinion in the moſt ſolemn manner, in a matter of that importance, ſome days were ſpent before they could put an end to their deliberation, which gave time to the Duke of Orleans, who foreſaw that the parliament would infallibly diſobey, to propoſe an accommodation.

The Preſidents à Mortier, and the eldeſt Counſellor of the grand chamber, met Cardinal Mazarin and the Chancellor at the Palace of Orleans. Some propoſals were there made, which were reported to the parliament, and rejected there with ſo much the greater indignation, that by the firſt of thoſe propoſals which related to the * annual duty, the companies had granted to them all that they could have wiſhed in relation to themſelves and their private intereſt. The parliament affected to ſhew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and they put out at laſt an arreſt, whereby it was enacted that the companies ſhould remain aſſembled, and that the King ſhould be applied to in a moſt humble manner, to aſk of him the repealing of the order iſſued by the upper council.

* Otherwiſe Paulette, from the name of its inventor. This duty is paid once a year by thoſe who have any employments, in order to preſerve them for their heirs; in defaut of which payment, they return into the King's diſpoſal.

The King's council went to the Queen in the evening, to demand an audience for the parliament, and that company was ſent for the next day by a Lettre de Cachet*. The firſt Preſident ſpoke with a great deal of vigour. He inſiſted upon the neceſſity of keeping unſhaken the medium that ſtands between the King and the people. He made good, by famous and illuſtrious examples, the right enjoyed by the companies for ſo long a time, of uniting and of aſſembling. He complained boldly of the annulling of their arreſt of union, and concluded by demanding in a ſtrong and reſolute manner the ſuppreſſion of what had been enacted to the contrary by the upper council. The court, much more concerned at the diſpoſition of the people than at the parliament's remonſtrances, ſubmitted of a ſudden, and ſent word by the King's council to the company, that the King gave them leave to put their arreſt of union in execution, and accordingly to aſſemble, and do, jointly with the other companies, what they all thought proper for the good of the ſtate.

Judge how dejected the miniſtry was; but I am ſure that you will not judge of it as the vulgar did, for they thought that Cardinal Mazarin had by his weakneſs on this occaſion given the laſt ſtroke to the royal authority. It is certain that he could not in this conjuncture do otherwiſe than he did. But at the ſame time, what was not an effect of his weakneſs muſt be attributed to his imprudence. Nothing can excuſe him for not foreſeeing, nor preventing his falling into circumſtances, the conſequences of which muſt always be the committing new errors. I have obſerved, that nobody ever comes to this ſtate, which of all others is the moſt wretched, but by their own fault, and that fortune has nothing to do with it. The reaſon of this is not known to me, though I have done what I could to find it out; but examples make it plain. Had Cardinal Mazarin attempted to ſtand his ground on

* A Lettre de Cachet is an order from the King, ſealed with his privy ſignet, and ſubſcribed by a Secretary of State.

this

this occaſion, he had certainly brought the matter to a mutiny, and had gained nothing by it but the name of a raſh and mad man. But he thought fit not to ſwim againſt the ſtream; and I have known but few but what believed it an effect of his weakneſs. The truth is, that it brought him into much contempt, and though he tried to appeaſe the minds of people by baniſhing Emery, from whom he took away the ſuperintendancy of the finances, he could not diſſuade the parliament from the opinion they had of their own power, and of the want of power in the court; nor hinder them from uſing all the means they could to throw off the yoke of the favourite, and to deſtroy the credit he had.

They made in the chamber of St. Lewis ſeven propoſals, the mildeſt of which tended to that end. The firſt on which the parliament deliberated was the revocation of the intendants. The court, which this touched in the moſt ſenſible part, obliged the Duke of Orleans to go up to them, and ſhew them what conſequences this would bring along with it. He therefore was to deſire them to ſuſpend the execution of their arreſt for three months only, in which time he had propoſals to make of great advantage to the public. They gave but three days delay, upon condition that nothing of it ſhould be regiſtered, and that they ſhould immediately have a conference about it. Accordingly the deputies of the four companies came to the palace of Orleans. The Chancellor inſiſted much on the neceſſity of preſerving the intendants* in the provinces, and on the inconveniency of bringing to trial (as the arreſt ordered it) thoſe that were guilty of any miſdemeanour, becauſe the farmers of the King's revenues muſt infallibly be included in thoſe trials, and that would ruin the King's affairs, by occaſioning thoſe that had ſupported them by their advances and their credit, to be-

* Theſe intendants or commiſſioners are twenty-four in number, and each of them being appointed to inſpect into and determine matters relating to the King's revenues, within a particular diſtrict, which is called a Generality.

come bankrupts. But finding that this did not move the deputies, the Chancellor's laſt ſhift was to deſire that the intendants might not be removed by an arreſt of the parliament, but by the King's declaration, that at leaſt the people might owe their relief to his Majeſty. The deputies conſented with difficulty to this propoſal, which was carried however by a majority of voices. But when the King's declaration was brought into parliament to be verified, it was found defective, becauſe though it indeed revoked the intendants, yet it ſaid nothing of bringing the delinquents to account.

The Duke of Orleans having carried it to the parliament, where he could not get it paſſed, the court thought of an expedient, which was to ſend thither another declaration for the eſtabliſhing a Chamber of Juſtice for the trial of the delinquents. It was eaſy for the company to perceive that ſuch a Chamber of Juſtice, the members of which, as well as the proceedings, would always be at the diſpoſal of the Miniſtry, was intended only for taking away the public robbers out of the parliament's hands. This declaration however was carried by a majority, and the Duke of Orleans, who was preſent, got another to be verified that ſame day, which releaſed the people of the eighth part of the Taille*, though the parliament had been promiſed that they ſhould be eaſed of the fourth part.

The Duke of Orleans came again to the parliament ſome days after, to bring thither a third declaration, whereby the King ordered, that no more money ſhould for the future be levied on the people, but by virtue of declarations verified in parliament. Nothing appeared more plauſible; but the company knew that the deſign was only to amuſe them, and to validate all paſt proceedings, and all the declarations or edicts that had not been yet verified. This obliged them to add a clauſe to this laſt declaration, which was to for-

* A tax which in ſome parts of France is laid on the perſon, in others on the lands, and from which only the nobility, the clergy, and the officers of the crown, are exempt.

bid

bid the levying any money by virtue of any paſt edicts not verified by the parliament. The Miniſter, mad to find how unſucceſsful his artifices and efforts had proved, whereby he hoped to have ſown jealouſies among the four companies, and being terrified at a propoſal which the parliament was upon the point of ſetting upon, that went to the annulling all loans made to the King that carried an exorbitant intereſt; the Miniſter, I ſay, exaſperated with ſorrow and rage, and ſpurred on by all the courtiers, who had put almoſt all that they were worth into thoſe loans, reſolved to make uſe of an expedient which he thought would finiſh all, but which proved as ineffectual as the reſt. He got the King to go on horſeback to the parliament, in mighty pomp, and to carry thither a declaration filled up with all the fine words poſſible, and with ſome clauſes tending to the public good, but with many others very obſcure and ambiguous. The miſtruſt which the people had for every ſtep that the court took, was the cauſe that the King's entry had neither the applauſe, nor even the huzzas uſed on the like occaſions. What followed after was not attended with greater ſucceſs. The parliament began to examine the very next day that declaration, and to cenſure it almoſt in every point, but chiefly in that which forbad the four companies to continue their aſſemblies in the chamber of St. Lewis. It had no better ſucceſs in the Chamber of Accounts, nor in the Court of Aids; the firſt preſidents of theſe chambers having expreſſed on this occaſion a great deal of vigour in the ſpeeches they made to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Prince of Conti. The firſt of thoſe Princes came for ſeveral days together to the parliament, to exhort them not to hurt in anywiſe the declaration. He threatned, he intreated, and at laſt, after incredible attempts, he obtained that they ſhould adjourn their deliberations to the 17th of that month; after which they were to reaſſume and continue them without intermiſſion, as well upon the declaration as upon the propoſals made in St. Lewis's Chamber by the deputies of the four companies. They failed not to do ſo; every article was examined

one after another, and the company's arreſt concerning the third was a killing ſtroke to the court. The import of it was, that for the rectifying the declaration, it was decreed, that all levies of money ordered by virtue of declarations not verified ſhould not take effect. The Duke of Orleans went again to the parliament to oblige them to ſoften that clauſe, but he could obtain nothing. Whereupon the court reſolved to carry things to extreams, and to make uſe of the ſplendor which the victory obtained at Lens* juſt at that time gave to affairs, to dazzle the people, and to oblige them to give their conſent to the oppreſſion of the parliament.

You have here but a very ſlight ſketch of a very dark and ugly picture, wherein you have ſeen as in a cloud and in little, figures ſo different from one another, with the odd poſtures of the chiefeſt bodies of the ſtate. What you are now to ſee will appear more lively to your eyes; factions and intrigues will help to ſet off the colouring.

The news of the Prince of Condé's victory at Lens came to court the 24th of Auguſt 1648, Châtillon† brought it, and a quarter of an hour after he had left the Palais-Royal, he told me that Cardinal Mazarin had ſhewed much leſs joy at the victory than trouble, becauſe part of the Spaniſh horſe had eſcaped us. I deſire you would obſerve, that the Cardinal ſaid this to one entirely devoted to the Prince of Condé, and ſpeaking of one of the fineſt actions that was ever performed in war. It is printed in ſo many places, that it would be needleſs for me to mention any particulars. I cannot however help ſaying, that the battle being in a manner loſt, the Prince renewed it, and won it by a caſt of that eagle's eye, which you know him to have, and which makes him perceive every thing on thoſe occaſions, and be dazzled at nothing.

* A ſmall town in the county of Artois, near which the Prince of Conde obtained a great victory over the Spaniards, in 1648.

† Gaſpard de Coligny, the 4th of the name, who was killed in the year 1649, aged 29.

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The ſame day in which the news of this victory was brought to Paris, I met Chavigny at the Hôtel de Leſdiguieres, who, ſpeaking of it, aſked me, whether I would not lay a wager that the Cardinal would be ſimple enough to miſs this opportunity of recovering his ſpirit and authority? Theſe were his words. They made an impreſſion upon me, becauſe knowing, as I did, the violent temper and maxims of Chavigny, and that beſides he had taken a great diſguſt at the Cardinal, who indeed had proved moſt ungrateful to him that was his benefactor, I made no doubt but that he would be very ready to exaſperate matters by his ill counſel. I acquainted the Duke de Leſdiguieres with it, telling him further, that I was that moment going to the Palais-Royal to continue what I had begun there. It is neceſſary for the underſtanding of theſe laſt words, that I ſhould give you an account of ſome particulars that relate to my own conduct.

In the courſe of this year, ſo full of agitation, I felt a commotion within myſelf, which was known but to few perſons. The whole ſtate was in ſuch a ferment, by the heat of Paris (which may be looked upon as the head of it) that knowing the unſkilfulneſs of the phyſician, I judged that he would not prevent the fever, which muſt otherwiſe neceſſarily follow. I could not be ignorant of my being upon very ill terms with the Cardinal. I ſaw a liſt opened for entering into, and acting great matters, and matters, the ideas of which had, from my infancy, ſtruck deep into my mind. My imagination brought now before me the poſſibility of the means for bringing theſe matters to paſs. My reaſon did not diſapprove of them, and yet I found a diſagreement in my heart, which I often checked myſelf for. But after I had examined the thing thoroughly, I thanked myſelf for that diſagreement, which I found to proceed only from a good principle.

The Coadjutorſhip had been given me by the Queen. I knew not how to leſſen that obligation by conſidering of the circumſtances. I therefore thought myſelf obliged to ſacrifice my reſentment, and even the reputation I was like to gain, to my gratitude. All the

inſtances which Montreſor and Laigues could make to the contrary, prevailed not with me. I reſolved to keep myſelf wholly tied to my duty, and not to join in any thing that was either ſaid or done at that time againſt the court. Montreſor had all his life-time been brought up in the Duke of Orleans's factions, and he was the more dangerous in adviſing great things, as he had them much more in his head than at his heart. Perſons of that character will adviſe every thing, becauſe they themſelves execute nothing. Laigues was a man but of little ſenſe, but he was extremely brave, and no leſs preſumptuous; and perſons of this character dare do any thing which thoſe in whom they confide can perſuade them to. This laſt, who was entirely in the hands of Montreſor, took the matter at heart, which always happens to thoſe of his humour when once they are perſuaded; ſo theſe two together gave me not one day's reſt to make me ſee, as they imagined, what without vanity I had ſeen ſix months and more before them.

I ſtood firm to my reſolution; but as I was not ignorant that innocence and uprightneſs would hurt me near as much at court as the contrary would do, I reſolved at the ſame time to provide againſt the evil intentions of the Miniſter. In order to it, my precaution, as to the court, was to act there with as much zeal and ſincerity, as openneſs and freedom. In the city my care was to keep fair with all my friends, and to omit nothing that I thought neceſſary to win, or rather preſerve, the love of the people. I cannot better expreſs what I did as to this laſt, than by telling you, that from the 28th of March to the 25th of Auguſt, I ſpent thirty-ſix thouſand crowns in charities and in liberalities. At court I thought I could not go on better with my deſign, than by telling the Queen and the Cardinal the true diſpoſition I knew Paris to be in, which the flattery of others and their own preposſeſſion hindered them from ſeeing into. A third journey of my uncle's into Anjou made me again at this juncture perform the functions of Archbiſhop, and I took hold of this occaſion to tell both the Queen and I

and the Cardinal, that I thought myself obliged to give them a faithful account of what I knew. They received my offer with contempt enough, but at my giving them that sincere account, they both heard me with much anger. After some days the Cardinal seemed appeased; but it was but outwardly, and under his dissembling he still preserved the same anger. I discovered his craft, and countermined it, For finding that he made no other use of the advices I gave him, but to insinuate to the world that I was so intimate with him as to tell him all that I could discover, even to the prejudice of others, I from that time told him nothing but what I repeated publicly at my own table. I even complained to the Queen of the Cardinal's artifices, of which I convinced her by two very particular circumstances. In that manner, without discontinuing what the post in which I was, obliged me to do for the King's service, I made use of the same advices which I gave to the court, to let the parliament see that I did all that I could to give light to the Ministers, and to dissipate the cloud which the interest of the subalterns, and the flattery of the courtiers never fail to raise.

The Cardinal perceiving that I had turned his own weapon against him, ceased keeping almost any measures with me. I remember one day, amongst others, that I was telling the Queen before him, that people's minds were in such a heat, that nothing but fair means would now do with them. To which the Cardinal answered no otherwise than by an Italian apologue, importing, that in Æsop's days, a wolf swore a great oath, that he would protect a flock of sheep against all other wolves, provided one of the sheep came every morning to lick a wound he had received from a dog. This is one of the gentlest sayings with which he favoured me in three or four months time; and that inticed me, one day that I was coming out of the Palace, to communicate to the Mareschal de Villeroy*

* Nicolas de Neufville, Governor to Lewis XIV. who died in 1685.

two reflections I had made. The one was, that it is more unbecoming a Minister to speak foolishly, than act foolishly; and the other, that advices, when they come from a man out of favour, are looked upon as crimes.

This is the state in which I was at court when I left the Duke de Lesdiguieres, in order to prevent as much as I could the ill effects which the victory at Lens, and the observation I had heard Chavigny make, gave me room to fear. I found the Queen transported with joy to a great excess: the Cardinal appeared to be in a more moderate temper. Both of them affected an extraordinary gentleness, and the Cardinal particularly told me, that he would make use of the present occasion, to convince the parliament that he was far from entertaining the revengeful thoughts of which he was accused, and that in a few days he would make every body confess, that the advantages obtained by the King's armies had rather abated than heightened the court's resentment. I own that I was imposed upon by these words. I believed them, and rejoiced at them. I preached the next day at the Jesuits, in their church of St. Lewis, before the King and Queen. The Cardinal, who was present, thanked me after the sermon was done, for that in explaining to the King St. Lewis's will (it was that Saint's day) I had recommended to his Majesty, according to the import of the will, the care of his great cities. You shall now see how sincerely the Cardinal spoke.

The day after the festival, that is on the 26th of August, 1648, the King went to Nôtre-Dame, to hear Te Deum. The streets from the Palais-Royal to the Cathedral were lined on both sides with soldiers of the regiment of guards. After the King was gone back to the Palais-Royal, they made three battalions of those soldiers, which were posted upon the Pont-neuf, and at the Place-Dauphine. Cominges, Lieutenant of the Queen's Guards, seized forcibly on Broussel, Counsellor of the Great Chamber, and carried him away in a coach to St. Germains. Blancmesnil*,

* Rene Potier, nephew to the Bishop of Beauvais.

President

Preſident of the Inqueſts, was likewiſe taken up at his own houſe juſt at that time, and carried to the caſtle o Vincennes. You will be ſurprized at the choice they had made of this laſt gentleman; and you would be no leſs ſo about Brouſſel, if you had known him. I ſhall explain in another place what I mean by this. But I am not able to expreſs the conſternation Paris was in for the firſt quarter of an hour after Brouſſel was carried away, nor the commotion it was in a quarter of an hour after. Sadneſs at firſt, or rather dejection, ſeized every one, and even children. People ſtared on one another without opening their mouths. But of a ſudden they began to ſtir, they ran, they roared, and all the ſhops were ſhut up. I had notice given to me of this, and though I was not without reſentment for the manner in which I had been plaid upon the day before at the Palais-Royal, where I was even deſired to tell my friends in the parliament, that the effects which the victory at Lens had produced at court, were no others but thoughts of mildneſs and moderation; I reſolved however, without any heſitation to go to the Queen, and to ſtick to my duty preferably to all things This was the expreſſion I uſed, ſpeaking to Chapelaine, to Gomberville, and to Plot, a Canon of Nôtre-Dame, who is now a Carthuſian, who had all three dined with me. I went out in my pontifical habits, and I had hardly reached ſo ſo far as to the Marchéneuf, before I was overwhelmed by a multitude of people, that made a noiſe more reſembling that of howling than any other. I got off from them by ſaying, that the Queen would do them juſtice. I met upon the Pont-neuf the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie at the head of the Guards, who ſeemed much confounded, though he ſaw againſt him none but children, who gave the ſoldiers abuſive language, and flung ſtones at them. But he ſaw another kind of ſtorm that was gathering on all parts. He was mighty glad to ſee me, and deſired me by all means to tell the Queen the whole truth, offering to come along with me to teſtify it. I was extremely pleaſed at his propoſal, and ſo we went to the Palais Royal, follow-

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ed by an infinite number of people, crying aloud Brouſſel, Brouſſel. We found the Queen in the great cloſet, and with her the Duke of Orleans, Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke de Longueville, the Mareſchal de Villeroi, the Abbot de la Riviere, Bautru, Guitaut, Captain of the Guards, and Nogent. She received me neither well nor ill. She was too haughty and too much incenſed to be aſhamed of what ſhe had told me the day before, and the Cardinal had not honour enough in him to be aſhamed of any thing. He appear'd however ſomewhat embarraſſed, and began a diſcourſe without head or tail, whereby (though not daring to explain himſelf) he ſeemed deſirous that I ſhould believe that there had been new reaſons to oblige the Queen to act in the manner ſhe had done. I feigned to believe every word that he ſaid, and I told him, that my coming thither proceeded only from my duty; that I was ready to receive the Queen's commands, and to contribute what lay in my power towards the public reſt and tranquility. The Queen ſeemed to thank me by a ſmall nod with her head; but I was told afterwards that ſhe had obſerved, and obſerved to my diſadvantage, the laſt words I ſpoke, though there was nothing in them but what was well meant, and well becoming a Coadjutor of Paris. But the ſaying is true, that *with Princes it is as dangerous and almoſt as criminal, to have the power to do good, as to have the will to do evil.* The Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, who ſaw la Riviere, Bautru, and Nogent, make nothing of the commotion, and even ridicule it, grew very angry. He ſpoke with vigour, and left it to me to tell what I knew. I did it with a great deal of freedom, and I confirmed what he had ſaid and foretold about the commotion. The Cardinal gave a malicious ſmile, and the Queen grew angry. She, with her ſhrill and angry tone, ſpoke theſe very words: 'There is a ſort 'of revolt in imagining that the people dare revolt: 'theſe are the ridiculous tales of thoſe that would have 'it ſo: but the King, by his authority, ſhall take a 'courſe for it.' The Cardinal, who obſerved by my countenance that I was ſomewhat moved at what the

Queen

Queen said, answered her in a soft tone: 'Would to 'God, Madam, that every body spoke as sincerely as 'the Coadjutor! He is in fear for his flock: he is in 'fear for the city: he is in fear for your Majesty's 'authority. I am persuaded that the danger is not 'come to the point he imagines, but his doubts upon 'it are in him a laudable zeal.' The Queen, who understood the Cardinal's cant, came to herself of a sudden. She began to make use of civiller means, and even to make me some sort of excuse. I answered her with a profound respect, and with so simple an air, that la Riviere whispered Bautru in the ear, as I had it from this last four days after,: 'See what it is, not 'to be here night and day! The Coadjutor is a man 'of wit, and understands the world, and yet he takes 'for true what the Queen tells him.' It is certain that all that were in the closet acted with a vizard on. I affected to appear simple, and I was not so, at least in this point. The Cardinal tried to appear stouter than he truly was. There were instants wherein the Queen affected to appear mild, and she in her life was never less so. The Duke de Longueville seemed sad, though he felt an inward joy, for he was the man in the world that loved best the beginning of all commotions. The Duke of Orleans counterfeited the busy and the angry man speaking to the Queen, and I never heard him whistle more indolently than he did for half an hour together, being with Guerchi, a Maid of Honour, in the Queen's little grey chamber. The Mareschal of Villeroy appeared gay, to make his court to the minister, whilst in private he was owning to me with tears in his eyes, that the state was upon the brink of ruin. Bautru and Nogent plaid the buffoons, and, to please the Queen, mimicked old Broussel's nurse, (note, I pray you, that Broussel was eighty years old), as if she was inciting the people to a revolt; and this farce they acted, though both of them knew very well that the tragedy would soon follow. The Abbot de la Riviere was the only man that really thought the commotion was nothing. He affirmed it to the Queen, who would willingly have believed it, though

though she had been persuaded of the contrary; and I observed at the same instant, both by the disposition of the Queen, who was the person in the world the most fearless, and by that of la Riviere, who was the most signalized coward of the age: *That a blind rashness, and an excessive fear, cause the same effects when the danger is not known.* That no sort of actor might be wanting on our theatre, the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who jointly with me had hitherto been steady in representing of what consequence the tumult was, became of a sudden the bully or Hector of the play. He altered his tone and his opinion, when he heard old Vannes (who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the guards) acquaint the Queen that those of the city threatned to force the King's guards. The Mareschal, who was a perfect mixture of choler and ill-timed resolutions, fell at this into a transport of anger, or rather of rage. He began to say aloud, that it was better to die than to bear such an insolence, and he pressed earnestly for leave to take with him the guards, the officers of the household, and all the courtiers that were in the antichambers, giving his word that he would crush that rascally mob. The Queen agreed blindfold to what he proposed, but nobody else approved of it; and you shall see by the event, that nothing could have been imagined more contrary to right reason. The Chancellor came into the closet at that instant. He was naturally so weak a man, that till that time he never had the courage to speak the truth there. But on this occasion his complaisance yielded to his fear. He spoke, and did it as the objects which he had perceived in the streets, moved him to speak. I observed that the Cardinal seemed much concerned, to hear a man speak with a freedom which he durst never discover before. But Senneterre, who came in much about this time, removed immediately these first impressions, by assuring, that the heat of the people began to abate, that nobody took up arms, and that, with a little patience, all would go well.

Nothing is more dangerous than flattery, in conjunctures when he that is flattered may be capable of fear,

fear. The desire he has of removing that fear from him, makes him reject all the measures that might remedy the evil. The news that came every moment caused that time to be idly lost, on which it may be said, that the safety of the state depended. Old Guitaut, a man but of little sense, but who loved the Queen, seemed more impatient than the rest, and said with a hoarser voice still than ordinary, that he could not comprehend how it was possible that people should lull themselves asleep in the state things were in. He muttered something else which I did not hear, and at which it is likely that the Cardinal, who did not love him, took offence; for he answered him: 'What then, 'Mr. de Guitaut; what would you advise us to do?' 'I would advise you,' (said Guitaut bluntly) 'to send 'back that old rogue Brousel, either dead or alive.' Hearing this, I told him that the first way would become neither the Queen's piety nor her prudence: that the second indeed might appease the tumult. The Queen reddened at these words, and cried out: 'I 'understand you, Sir; you would have me set Brous-'sel at liberty: I would rather strangle him with these 'hands,' (saying which, she brought her hands almost to my face, adding) 'and those who—' The Cardinal, who knew for certain that she was going to utter whatever her rage inspired her with, interrupted her, and whispered something in her ear. She composed herself to a degree, that if I had not known her, I had thought her grown much milder.

The civil judge * came at that instant into the closet, as pale as death. I never saw at the Italian comedy a fright so naturally and so ridiculously expressed, as that which he shewed the Queen, in relating to her some trifling adventures which had happened to him betwixt his house and the Palais-Royal. Observe, I beseech you, and admire the sympathy there is between some minds. The Cardinal had hitherto been but little moved at what Mr. de la Meilleraie and I had

* A judge in civil matters under the Provost of Paris, who has two civil and two criminal judges that act under him.

said,

ſaid, pathetically enough; and it had made no manner of impreſſion on the Queen. But now the judge's fright caught, I think, in a panic manner, their imagination, their mind, and their heart. Of a ſudden they appeared to me like metamorphoſed perſons: they ceaſed to ridicule me, and they began to own that the matter deſerved conſideration. A conſultation was held, where the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Longueville, the Chancellor, the Mareſchal de Villeroi, the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, and myſelf, were ſuffered to prove by good arguments, the neceſſity of ſending back Brouſſel, before the people that threatened to take up arms had actually done it. But we experienced on this occaſion, *That it is much more natural, for fear to conſult than to determine.* The Cardinal, after a dozen nonſenſical ſpeeches that contradicted one another, concluded to adjourn the matter till the next day, and to let the people know in the mean time, that the Queen granted them Brouſſel's liberty, provided that they would diſperſe, and ceaſe to demand it in a body. He added, that no body was better able to ſpeak to the people, nor would be more acceptable to them, than myſelf. I ſaw the ſnare, but I could not avoid it; and I could the leſs do it, becauſe the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, who had no forecaſt, liked the propoſal, and hurried me away in a manner along with him into it, by his impetuoſity. He told the Queen, that he would go into the ſtreets along with me, and that we ſhould do wonders there. No doubt, ſaid I, provided the Queen is pleaſed to let us have a promiſe in due form for the ſetting the priſoners free, for my credit among the people is not great enough to be believed without that. I was praiſed for my modeſty; the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie ſuſpected nothing; and I was told that the Queen's word was better than any writing whatever. In ſhort, I was laughed at for what I had aſked, and I found myſelf in that inſtant, under the cruel neceſſity of acting the worſt part that perhaps any private man was ever put to. I would have replied, but the Queen retired haſtily into her little grey chamber. The Duke of Orleans puſhed me gently

with

with both his hands, saying to me: 'Restore the state 'its quiet.' The Mareschal de la Meilleraie took me away, and all the life-guards were carrying me off in their arms in a most affectionate manner, saying aloud to me: 'You alone are able to remedy the evil.' In that manner came I out in my pontifical habits, giving blessings on the right and on the left; but you may well think, that this occupation did not hinder me from making all the reflections that suited with the trouble I found myself in. I resolved however, without any hesitation, to act purely according to my duty; to preach obedience to the people, and use my utmost endeavours to appease any tumult. The only measure which I was resolved to observe, was to promise nothing in my own name, and only to say that the Queen had assured me that she would send back Broussel, provided the tumult ceased.

The Mareschal de la Meilleraie's impetuosity left me no room to measure my expressions; for instead of coming along with me as he had said, he put himself at the head of the light horse-guards, and rode along with his sword drawn, crying as loud as he could; 'God save the King, and liberty to Broussel.' But being seen by many more than there were that could hear him, the naked sword he held in his hand made a stronger impression than his voice could do. They called to arms: a porter drew out a cutlass over-against the Quince-Vint *, and the Mareschal shot him dead with a pistol †. At that the cries redoubled, and every where they ran to their arms. A croud of people that had followed me from the Palais-Royal, pushed me along, or rather carried me to the Croix-du-Tiroir, where I found the Mareschal engaged with a great many citizens that had taken up arms in the street called de l'Arbre sec. I flung myself into the crowd to try to part them, thinking that of both sides they

* An hospital for blind people.

† Joli, in his Memoirs, says that the Coadjutor confessed this porter as he was dying in a kennel, which contributed not a little to increase the commotion. Joli pretends that he heard the Cardinal say, that he had done it for that purpose.

would

would ſhew ſome reſpect to my habits and my dignity. I was not altogether miſtaken, for the Mareſchal, who was in a pretty great ſtreight, was glad of that pretence to order his light-horſe to fire no more. The citizens ſtood ſtill likewiſe, and contented themſelves with making a ſtand at the croſs-way. But twenty or thirty, who came with halberds and muſquetoons out of the ſtreet called Deſprouvelles, had not the ſame moderation; for either not ſeeing me, or feigning not to ſee me, they made a very briſk diſcharge upon the light-horſe, broke with a piſtol Fontraille's arm, as he ſtood with his ſword in his hand near the Mareſchal, wounded one of my pages who held my caſſock behind, and ſtruck me with a ſtone behind the ear, which brought me to the ground. I was no ſooner got up, than a citizen claped his muſquetoon to my head, and though he was altogether unknown to me, I thought that it was beſt to let him think otherwiſe. I therefore cried to him: Ah, wretch! if thy father ſaw thee!——At that he fancied that I was his father's beſt friend, though I knew the father as little as I did the ſon. I believe that that made him look upon me with more attention, and being ſtartled at my habit, he aſked me, if I was not the Coadjutor? All the reſt were likewiſe ſtartled, and every one came running to me. This gave way to the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie to retire more freely to the Palais-Royal, becauſe I affected purpoſely to go towards the market-hall. They all followed me thither, where I ſtood in need of them; for I found there a multitude of brokers that had taken up arms. I flattered them, careſſed them, beſeeched them, threatened them, till at laſt, I perſuaded them. They quitted their arms, and that preſerved Paris; for if they had kept them till night came, which was drawing near, the city had infallibly been pillaged. In all my lifetime, I have hardly felt a greater ſatisfaction than this was to me; and it affected me to that degree, that I had not time to reflect on the manner in which the ſervice I had done on this occaſion, ought to have been received at court. I ſay, ought to have been, becauſe it really was received there quite otherwiſe.

I went

I went to the Palais-Royal, followed by thirty or forty thouſand men, but all without arms. I met at the rails the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie, who being exceſſively moved with my manner of acting in regard to him, took me into his arms, and ſqueezed me till he had almoſt ſtifled me. Then he ſaid: 'I am an inconſiderate raſh fool: I had near brought the ſtate to ruin; but you have ſaved all. Come, let us ſpeak to the Queen like true Frenchmen, and like honeſt men. Let us confer notes together, that by our teſtimony we may, when the King comes of age, hang thoſe banes of the ſtate, thoſe infamous flatterers, that make the Queen believe that all this matter is but a trifle.' Having ended with me, he turned his ſpeech to the officers of the guards, and ſpoke as movingly and eloquently, as any General before him has perhaps ever done. After this, he took me along with him, or rather carried me to the Queen. As ſoon as we got to her: 'Here is the man, Madam,' (ſaid he, pointing to me) 'to whom I owe my life, and to whom your Majeſty owes the ſafety of your guards, and perhaps of the Palais-Royal.' The Queen began to ſmile, but in a manner that left it doubtful whether ſhe was pleaſed or angry. I obſerved it, but I kept it to myſelf; and to put a ſtop to the Mareſchal's encomium on me: 'No, Madam,' (ſaid I) 'the buſineſs is not concerning me, but concerning Paris, whoſe inhabitants are come without arms, and in a ſubmiſſive manner, to throw themſelves at your Majeſty's feet.' 'Paris' (replied the Queen, all in a flame) 'is very guilty, and very little ſubmiſſive. If it be true, as I am told, that they have carried their rage ſo high there, how can they be appeaſed in ſo little a time?' The Mareſchal, who obſerved now, as well as I, in what humour the Queen was, ſaid angrily to her, and ſwearing: 'Madam, no honeſt man can flatter you in the extremity things are in. If you do not ſet this day Brouſſel at liberty, you muſt expect to ſee nothing but deſolation and ruin to-morrow.' I was going to ſpeak, to back what the Mareſchal had ſaid, but the Queen ſtopt me, and

ſaid

said in a jeering manner: 'Go and take some rest, 'Sir, you have laboured hard.'

I left the Palais-Royal in this manner; and though I was inwardly enraged, I spoke not one word from thence to my house, that might incense the people. I found an innumerable crowd of them that were staying for me, and that forced me to get upon the roof of my coach, to give them an account of what I had done at the Palais-Royal. I told them that I had acquainted the Queen with their obedience to her commands, in quitting their arms in the places where they were taken up; and in forbearing to take them up in the places where they were upon the point of doing it: that the Queen had expressed some satisfaction for their submissiveness, and had told me that that was the only way to obtain of her the liberty of the prisoners. I added all that I thought might appease that mob, which I did without any great pain, because supper-time drew near. You will look upon this circumstance as ridiculous, but it is founded upon experience; and I have observed that at Paris, in popular commotions, the most inflamed are unwilling to lose a meal.

At my coming home I was let blood, because the contusion caused by the blow which I had received, was much increased; but you may well think that that was not my greatest ail. My credit run a great risque with the people by my giving them hopes of Broussel's liberty, though I had taken great care not to pass my word for it. But how could I expect that they should distinguish so nicely betwixt promises and hopes. Besides, what room had I to believe, from what I had experienced before, and from what had passed that day, that the court would consider in the least the direction which I received there jointly with the Mareschal de la Meilleraie? Or had I not rather a just reason to be persuaded, that they would not miss this opportunity of destroying my credit with the people, by making them believe that I had acted in concert with the minister, to amuse and mock them? These views, which I considered in their full extent, grieved me, but did not tempt me. I repented not at all of what I had done,

done, because I was persuaded that I had acted only according to duty, and to prudence. I wrapped myself up, if I may say so, in my innocence, and I became ashamed of having reflected upon the event. Montresor coming to me just at that time, and telling me, that I was mistaken if I thought that I had got much by what I had done; I answered him in these words: 'I have got much by it, because I have thereby freed 'myself from making an apology in relation to the 'benefits I have received, which I look upon as an 'insufferable thing for an honest man to do. Had I 'staid at home in such a juncture as this, do you 'think that the Queen, (to whom, when all is done, 'I owe my post) could with any reason have been satisfied with me.' 'I tell you,' replied Montresor, 'that she is in no manner satisfied with you. Madam 'de Noailles, and Madam de Motteville*, told the 'Prince de Guimené this very moment, that they are 'persuaded at court that you have yourself helped to 'stir up the people.'

I own that I gave no manner of credit to this speech of Montresor's; for though I had observed that they made a fool of me in the Queen's closet. it could not come into my thoughts that their malignity would go so far as to lessen the merit of the service I had done, much less could I imagine them capable of turning that into a crime. Montresor continuing to torment me by saying that my friend John Lewis de Fiesque would have followed other steps than mine, I answered him, that I had all my life-time held men in greater esteem for what they forbore to do on some occasions, than for what they did. I was in these thoughts, and upon the point of falling asleep, when Laigues came to me from the Queen's supper, and told me that I had been there turned publickly into ridicule; that I had been talked of as a man that had left nothing undone to stir up the people, under pretence of quieting them; that there had been whistling in the streets, and

* This Lady has wrote Memoirs, which have been very lately published, and of which, some notice shall be taken in the Fourth Volume.

that

that I pretended to have been wounded, though there was nothing like it: in short, that I had been exposed for two hours long, to the ingenious raillery of Bautru, to the drollery of Nogent, to the pleasantry of la Riviere, to the feigned compassion of the Cardinal, and to the Queen's fits of laughing. You may well suppose that I could not hear all this without being moved; but the truth is, that I was not moved to so great a degree as perhaps you may imagine. What I felt was rather a slight temptation to, than a violent motion for revenge. Every thing indeed came crowding into my mind, but nothing stuck there. I rejected, without almost any manner of hesitation, the brightest and the most flattering ideas which the memory of past conspiracies brought in abundance to my mind, as soon as the ill treatment which I had received, and which was, as I perceived, known and become public, gave me room to think that I might now with honour enter into new ones. All these thoughts I sacrificed to my obligations to the Queen, though I must own that they were dear to me, having in some measure sucked them in with my nurse's milk; and it is certain, that Laigues and Montresor would not in the least have prevailed with me, either by way of persuasion or reproach, if Argentueil, who from the death of the Count de Soissons, (to whom he was first Gentleman of the chamber) had stuck very close to me, had not come at that same time. He entered my chamber with a wild look, saying to me: 'Sir, you are undone; the Ma-'resicha de la Meilleraie has ordered me to tell you, 'that the devil has taken possession of the Palais-'Royal, and has put into their minds there, that you 'have done your utmost to excite the sedition; that 'he has omitted nothing to set forth the truth to the 'Queen, and to the Cardinal, but that they both did 'but laugh at him: that he can in no manner excuse 'them for such an unjust proceeding, but that, at the 'same time, he cannot enough admire them for their 'contempt of the tumult, which they have seen from 'the beginning to the end with prophetic eyes, having 'always said, that the coming of the night would

'quash

quash that uproar: that he had hitherto believed otherwise, but was now convinced that they were in the right, because he had walked the streets, and had not found one single man stirring there: that those sorts of fires did not kindle again, after they had quenched of themselves so suddenly as that did: that he beseeched me to consider of my own safety: that the King's authority would appear the next day in all its grandeur: that he saw the court very much disposed not to lose the critical moment: that I should be the first upon whom a great example would be made: that they had even already talked of sending me to Quimpercorentin *: that Brousel was to be sent to Havre-de-Grace †, and that it was resolved that the Chancellor should come in the morning betimes to interdict the parliament, and to command them to retire to Montargis.' Having said this, Argentüeil added: 'This is what the Mareschal de la Meilleraie bid me tell you. The Mareschal de Villeroi speaks not in so plain a manner, because he dares not; but he squeezed me by the hand as I came by, after a manner that makes me think that he is likely to know more: and I tell you,' said Argentüeil, 'that they are both in the right, for there is not one soul in the streets: all is calm there, and and they may take up to-morrow whomever they please.' Montresor, who is one of those that has always foreseen all, cried out, that he made no doubt of it, and that he had said as much before. Laigues began to bemoan my conduct, that moved my friends compassion, though it involved them in my ruin. All that I said to them was, that if they pleased to leave me for a quarter of an hour to myself, I would convince them that we were not reduced so low as to excite compassion, as indeed we were not. Having left me to myself, as I had desired, I did not consider in the least what I was able to do, because I was very sure of my power; but I only considered what I ought to

* Quimpercorentin, alias Cornoaille, a town in Britanny, near the seaside.

† A sea-port town in Normandy.

do, and that puzzled me. But the manner in which I was treated, and what was intended againſt the public, having overcome my ſcruples, and being now conſcious to myſelf that I might act with honour, and without incurring any blame, I gave a looſe to all my thoughts; I called back to my mind all that my imagination had ever repreſented to me, of what was moſt glorious and moſt ſuitable to great deſigns. I gave myſelf leave to be pleaſed and flattered with the title of head of a party; which I had always honoured in Plutarch's lives. But what put an end to all my ſcruples, was the advantage that I fancied I ſhould reap by diſtinguiſhing myſelf from thoſe of my profeſſion in a ſtate of life, wherein all profeſſions are blended and mixt. The diſorderly life I led, ſo unbecoming an eccleſiaſtic, terrified me; neither was I leſs afraid of a ridicule like that which the Archbiſhop of Sens was fallen into. I ſupported myſelf by the means of the Sorbonne, by my ſermons, and by the love of the people: but that ſupport is but for a time, and that time cannot laſt long, by reaſon of a thouſand accidents which a diſorderly life may occaſion. But in a hurry of affairs, the different ſpecies are not ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, and what is not of itſelf very juſtifiable, may become honourable that way: nay, what is really a vice in an Archbiſhop, may on many occaſions be a virtue in the head of a party. I had had that in view a thouſand times, but it always gave way to what I thought I owed the Queen. What had paſſed at the Palais-Royal during ſupper, and my reſolution of running the ſame fate with the public, rectified now what I thought amiſs before; I accepted with joy what I had ſo many times rejected, and I abandoned myſelf to all that glory prompted me to.

The clock was ſtriking twelve when I called for Laigues and for Montreſor, to whom I ſaid: 'You 'know that I dread apologies, but you ſhall now be 'convinced that I am not afraid of manifeſtos. All 'the court ſhall be a witneſs to me of the manner 'in which I have been uſed at the Palais-Royal, for 'above a year. The public ought to defend my honour:

'honour: but the public is attacked, and it is my 'duty to defend it from being oppreſſed. We are 'not, gentlemen, on ſo ill terms as you imagine, 'and to-morrow before noon I ſhall be maſter of 'Paris.' My two friends thought me crazed, and they that had ſo often before perſecuted me to be doing, made me now lectures on moderation. But I hearkened not to what they ſaid, and at that inſtant I ſent for Miron, who was a maſter in the chamber of accounts, and Colonel of the ward of St. Germains de l'Auxerrois; an honeſt and a ſtout man, whoſe credit was very great among the people. I acquainted him with the ſtate of things, and brought him to be of my opinion. He engaged readily to execute whatever I ſhould deſire. We concerted every thing together, and at the firſt warning which he ſhould have from me, he was to cauſe the drums to beat, and the people to retake their arms.

As he was going down ſtairs he found one who was brother to his cook, who being condemned to the gallows, and not daring to walk the ſtreet in the day time, was often uſed to roam at night. That man had juſt met by chance, by Miron's houſe, two men that looked like officers, talking together and mentioning often Miron's name. He hearkened from behind a door, and heard thoſe men, (whom we knew afterwards to be Vannes, Lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and Rubantel, a Lieutenant in the ſame regiment,) who were diſcourſing in what manner they might enter Miron's houſe in order to ſurprize him, and what poſts were the beſt, for the guards, the Switzers, the Gens d'Armes, and the Light Horſe, to make themſelves maſters of all that lies between the Pontneuf and the Palais-Royal. This and what the Marſhal de la Meilleraie had ſent me word of before, made us think that it was fit to prevent the evil, but in a manner however that did not appear to be offenſive, nothing being of greater conſequence in ſuch a caſe than to make the people believe, even when they are attaking, that they are only defending themſelves. We executed this project by only poſting ſome

of the beſt citizens without any arms, in the places where we had heard that the ſoldiers were to come, becauſe, by doing ſo, we were ſure that our men would not take up arms till they were ordered ſo to do. Miron acquitted himſelf ſo generouſly and ſo happily of that commiſſion, that he got above four hundred of the principal citizens to aſſemble in ſmall diviſions, with as little noiſe and as little commotion, as the novices among the Carthuſians could have made, had they come there about their meditations.

I gave my orders to L'Epinay, (whom I have mentioned before when I ſpoke of the Count de Soiſſons's affairs) to keep himſelf in a readineſs, to ſeize, upon the firſt notice given him, on the Serjeant's Rail which lies over againſt St. Honoré's, and to make there a barricado againſt the guards that were at the Palais-Royal: and Miron having told us that his cook's brother had heard ſeveral times the two officers, of whom I have ſpoke, mention the gate of Neſle, we thought that it would be well for us to take care of it, for fear that there ſhould be a deſign to carry away ſome body or other through that gate. Argentüeil, as brave and as reſolute a man as ever was in the world, took that taſk upon him, and placed himſelf at a carver's that lived juſt by, having with him twenty good ſoldiers, which the Chevalier d'Humieres, who was raiſing recruits at Paris, lent him. I went to ſleep after I had given theſe orders, and I was not waked till ſix that morning, when Miron's ſecretary came to acquaint me that no ſoldiers had appeared during the night; that a few troopers only had been ſeen, who in all appearance came to *reconnoiſtre* the plottons of citizens, which done they galloped away; that by that movement he judged that our precaution had ſerved to prevent the inſult, if any was intended, to any particular perſons; but that the movement which began to appear at the Chancellor's, denoted that there was ſome deſign on foot againſt the publick; that purſevants were obſerved to go backward and forward, and that Ondedei had been there four times in two hours ſpace.

Some

Some time after this the first Ensign of Miron's regiment came to give me notice that the Chancellor was marching with all the pomp belonging to his office, directly to the parliament. Argentüeil at the same time sent me word that two companies of the Switz guard were advancing on the suburbs side, towards the gate of Nesle. The fatal moment is now arrived I gave my orders in two words, and they were executed in two instants. Arms were taken up at Miron's command. Argentüeil in a bricklayer's dress with a rule in his hand, charged the Switzer's on the flank, took one of their colours, killed twenty or thirty of them, and dispersed the rest. The Chancellor being pursued on all sides, could hardly escape to the Hotel d'O, which lies at the further end of the Augustine's key, on the side of St. Michael's bridge. The people broke open the gates and entered in, all in a rage. God alone saved the Chancellor and the Bishop de Meaux his brother to whom he confessed himself, by permitting that the mob, who by good fortune for them were busy in pillaging, never thought of breaking open the door of a little room wherein they were hid.

That commotion resembled a sudden and violent fire, which spread itself from the Pontneuf through all the city. Every one without exception took up arms. Children of five and six years old were seen with poinards in their hands, brought to them by their own mothers. There were in Paris above two hundred barricadoes made in less than two hours time, which were bordered with the colours and the arms kept intire since the holy league. Being obliged to step out for a moment to appease a tumult that had happened by a misunderstanding between two officers of the ward, in the new street Nôtre-Dame, I saw amongst others, a lance trailed along rather than carried, by a boy of eight years old, which had certainly been preserved from the time of our ancient wars with the English. But I saw something still more curious than that. The Duke de Brissac made me take notice of a gorget which was silver-gilt, on which the figure of the Jacobine monk who killed Henry the third was en-

graven, with this inſcription: *St. James Clement.* I reprimanded the officer that had it on, and I got it to be publickly broken to pieces on a ſmith's anvil, at which the people cried, *God ſave the King:* but the burden was *No Mazarin.*

A moment after my coming back to my houſe, the Queen's ſteward came to intreat and command me in her name, to make uſe of my credit to appeaſe the ſedition; by which you may ſee that they no longer treated it at court as a trifle. I anſwered coldly, yet reſpectfully, that my endeavours about it the day before had got me ſuch an odium among the people, that I had run ſome riſque only by ſhewing myſelf one moment abroad, and that I had been obliged to return haſtily home. I added to this all that you can imagine, of reſpect, of grief, of regret, and of ſubmiſſiveneſs. The ſteward, who was but at the end of the ſtreet when they cried, *God ſave the King*, and who had likewiſe heard the people add almoſt every time, *God ſave the Coadjutor*, would fain have perſuaded me of my credit among them. I ſhould have been very ſorry of his thinking otherwiſe; but yet I feigned all along as if I would have perſuaded him of the contrary. The miniſters of the two laſt centuries knew not what they did, when they reduced to words only, the true regard which kings ought to have for their people: there happens you ſee conjunctures wherein by a neceſſary conſequence, the real obedience which is owed to kings, is reduced only to words.

The parliament who had aſſembled that day very early, and even before the people had taken up arms, heard the commotion by the cries of an immenſe multitude of them, who were roaring in the court-hall and calling out aloud the name of Brouſſel. Whereupon the company decreed to go in a body and in their robes to the Palais-Royal to demand the priſoners. They likewiſe decreed againſt Cominges, Lieutenant of the Queen's guards, and they ordered that all officers whatſoever ſhould be forbidden upon pain of death to take any commiſſion like his, and that thoſe that had been the adviſers in this affair

ſhould

ſhould be informed againſt, as diſturbers of the public peace. That arreſt was put in execution upon the ſpot. The parliament went to the Palais-Royal in a body, and to the number of one hundred and ſixty. They were received and attended in the ſtreets with incredible huzzas and clappings: all the barricadoes fell at their approach.

The firſt Preſident ſpoke to the Queen with all the freedom which the ſtate of things required. He repreſented to her to the life, how the royal word had on all occaſions been made a jeſt of: the ſhameful, and even childiſh illuſions, whereby reſolutions the moſt advantageous, and even the moſt neceſſary to the ſtate, had been a thouſand times eluded. He ſtrongly aggravated the danger that threatened the ſtate by the general and tumultuary taking up of arms. The Queen, who feared nothing, becauſe ſhe knew but little, grew extremely incenſed, and anſwered not only in an angry, but even in a furious tone, ſaying, 'I 'know very well that the city is in a tumult: but you 'ſhall be anſwerable for it, gentlemen of the parlia-'ment; you, your wives and children.' At this laſt word ſhe retired into her little grey chamber, ſhutting the door hard after her.

The Parliament was coming back, and was already deſcending the ſtairs, when the Preſident de Meſmes*, who was extremely timorous, conſidering to what danger the company was going to be expoſed among the people, exhorted them to try once more to move the Queen if it was poſſible. They found the Duke of Orleans in the great cloſet, and made a pathetic ſpeech to him. He got twenty of them into the little grey chamber, where the firſt Preſident ſhewed the Queen all the horrour of Paris enraged and in arms. I ſhould have ſaid that he tried to do it, for the Queen would hear nothing, and in her fit of anger, flung herſelf from them into the little gallery.

* Henry de Meſmes, Baron of Roiſſi, Marquis de Moigneville, &c. ſecond Preſident a Mortier, in the parliament of Paris. He died in 1650.

The Cardinal came to them and propoſed to ſet the priſoners free, provided that the parliament gave their word not to hold their aſſemblies any longer, At which the firſt Preſident anſwered, that they muſt firſt deliberate upon that propoſition. They were near doing of it upon the ſpot, but many of the members repreſenting that it would be thought among the people that their votes had been extorted by violence if they debated at the Palais-Royal, it was reſolved to aſſemble in the afternoon at their own court, where the Duke of Orleans was deſired to be preſent.

The parliament coming back in this manner from the Palais-Royal, without mentioning any thing of Brouſſel's liberty, met at firſt with nothing but a deep ſilence inſtead of the applauſe they had had before. Being come to the Serjeant's Rail where the firſt barricado ſtood, they met there with murmurings, which they appeaſed by aſſuring the people that the Queen had promiſed ſatisfaction. They eluded the threatenings at the ſecond barricado by the ſame means. But when they came to the Croix du Tiroir, where the third ſtood, the people there refuſed to be paid in the ſame coin. A journeyman cook advanced with two hundred men, and clapping his halbert to the firſt Preſident's breaſt, ſaid to him: 'Turn back, traytor, 'and except thou haſt a mind to be thyſelf murdered, 'bring us back Brouſſel, or Mazarin and the Chan-'cellor in hoſtage for him.' I think I need not tell you how great the confuſion and the terror was, that ſeized almoſt all thoſe that ſtood by. Five Preſidents à Mortier, and above twenty counſellors of the Parliament flung themſelves among the crowd to make their eſcape. The firſt Preſident alone, the moſt intrepid man in my opinion that has appeared in his age, remained firm and unmoved. He gave himſelf time to rally as many as he could of the company; he preſerved all along the dignity of a magiſtrate, both in his words and in every ſtep he took; and he went ſlowly back to the Palais-Royal, in the heat of all manner of revilings, threatnings, curſes and imprecations.

That

That man had a sort of eloquence that was peculiar to him. He knew nothing of rhetorical figures, he was not congruous in his speech; but he spoke with an energy that supplied the rest, and he was of so bold a nature, that he never spoke so well as in the midst of danger. He surpassed himself when he came back to the Palais-Royal, and it is certain that he moved every body there, the Queen excepted, who remained inflexible.

The Duke of Orleans seemed as if he would have knelt to her: four of the Princesses that quaked for fear, did it in reality. Cardinal Mazarin, to whom a young counsellor of the Chambers of Inquests had said in a jesting manner, that it was fit that he went himself into the streets to see how matters went there; the Cardinal, I say, joined himself to the rest, and they at last with a great deal of difficulty got the Queen to speak these words: 'Well, gentlemen of the parliament, 'consider then what is fit to be done.' They assembled at the same time in the great gallery; they deliberated and gave an arrest whereby the Queen was to be thanked for the liberty she granted the prisoners.

At the same time that this arrest was pronounced, Lettres-de-cachet were immediately dispatched. The first president shewed the people authentic copies both of the arrest and of the letters, but they would not quit their arms till the effect had ensued. The parliament itself gave no arrest for the quitting them till they had seen Brouffel again among them. He came back thither the next day, or was rather carried upon people's shoulders, with incredible huzzas. The barricados were pulled to pieces, the shops were opened, and in less than two hours time Paris was more quiet than I ever saw it on a Good-Friday.

I thought that it would be best to give you this whole narrative, without any interruption, because it contains all that is previous to the civil war. I am now to explain some particulars, which, I dare say, you have been busy with yourself how to comprehend, because they are accompanied with circumstances which can hardly be conceived before they are so explained.

For example, you long to know, I am ſure, the ſecret ſprings that have occaſioned all thoſe ſeveral bodies to move and act almoſt all at once: you long to know what have been the wheels, which notwithſtanding all the efforts of the court, the artifices of the miniſters, the weakneſs into which the public was fallen, and the corruption among private people; have maintained this motion in a kind of an equilibrium. It is likely that you imagine in all this a great deal of myſtery, of caballing, and of intriguing. I own that you have the appearances on your ſide, and to a degree that makes me think that hiſtorians that have taken, in like caſes, what was probable for what was true, ought to be excuſed. I can however, and muſt aſſure you, that till the night that preceded the barricadoes, there was not one grain in all this of what is called ſtate intrigue, and that even what there might be in it of private intrigue was ſo very light, that it hardly deſerves to be weighed. I explain myſelf. Longueil, a counſellor of the Grand Chamber, of a dark, pragmatical, and dangerous ſpirit; but a man that underſtood the detail of parliamentary affairs better than all the reſt of them put together, had a deſign even at that time of getting for his brother, the Preſident de Maiſons, the ſuperintendency of the finances. He had got himſelf in mighty credit with Brouſſel, a man as eaſily governed, and as ſimple as a child; and it was believed by many, and I myſelf believe, that it came into his thoughts from the firſt ſtirrings of the parliament, to make uſe of Brouſſel, and by ſpurring him on and inflaming him, to make himſelf conſiderable with the miniſtry.

The Preſident Viole was an intimate friend of Chavigny's, who was exaſperated at Cardinal Mazarin, becauſe having been the chief cauſe of his credit with Cardinal Richlieu, he was made a tool of by him in a cruel manner at the beginning of the regency: and this Preſident being one of the firſt that expreſſed a heat in the parliament, Chavigny was ſuſpected to have worked him into it. Was I not in the right to ſay that the grain of private intrigue that entered into this,

this, was extremely light? For even supposing it as well prepared as it is possible for art to do, of which I am much in doubt; what could be performed, in a company composed of above two hundred heads, and joined to three other companies that made up almost as many more, by two of the simplest and most ordinary heads of all those bodies? The President Viole had all his life-time been a man of pleasure, and not at all applied to his profession. As for Brousel, he had spent his days from his youth to his old age, amongst his bags, and in the dust of the grand chamber, with a greater reputation of integrity than capacity. Those that joined at first the most openly to these two, were, Charton, President of the Requests, a man little less than mad; and Blancmesnil, President of the Inquests: you know this last; he acted in the parliament as you have seen him do at your house. Had there been any caballing in the company, I leave you to judge if they had made choice of such brainless men, when they had so many others of an infinitely greater weight. This makes good what I have said more than once, that the cause of the revolution of which I am speaking, ought to be ascribed to nothing else but the altering the ancient laws, which brought along with it insensibly an alteration in people's minds, and which was the cause that even before people were quite aware of the change, there was a party already formed. It is certain that there was not one single man of all those that assisted at the parliament and at other sovereign courts, that had in the least in view what really followed, nor even what was like to follow. All that was said and done there, was accompanied with a like spirit as at processes at law, and as it had an air of chicane, it had likewise its pedantry, the essence of which is a stiffness directly opposite to that suppleness which of all other qualities is the most necessary for the management of great affairs. What is most to be admired is, that that concert which is alone able to remedy the inconveniences likely to happen among such a medley of persons, had passed with them for caballing, which they had an abhorrence

for. And yet they were caballing all this while, tho' they knew nothing of it. The blindneſs of thoſe whoſe intentions are good, is commonly followed in ſuch a caſe as this, by the penetration of clearer-ſighted men, who mix a ſpirit of faction with the publick intereſt, and who extend their views to future events, and to the poſſibility of things, at the time that regulated companies look no further than to the preſent, and to what ſeems apparent to them.

This reflection, and what you have ſeen before of the deliberations of the parliament, ſhews you ſufficiently the confuſion things were in at the ſetting up the barricadoes. It likewiſe ſhews you the error of thoſe that pretend that a party without a chief is not to be feared. Chiefs may ariſe in the ſpace of a night. The commotion I have been repreſenting, which was ſo violent, and of ſo long duration, produced none in the ſpace of one whole year, and one moment hatched many more than were neceſſary for the party.

As ſoon as the barricadoes were down, I went to Madam de Guimené, wo told me that ſhe knew for certain that the Cardinal thought me the author of them. The next morning the Queen ſent for me. She gave me all poſſible marks of kindneſs, and even of truſt. She ſaid, that if ſhe had believed me ſhe had avoided the trouble which ſhe was now in; that it was not poor Cardinal Mazarin's fault that ſhe had not done it; that he had told her all along that they ought to rely upon my judgment; that Chavigny was the only cauſe of this misfortune by his pernicious counſels, which ſhe had had a greater deference for than for the Cardinal's. 'But, good God! (ſaid ſhe all 'of a ſudden) will you ſuffer that rogue Bautru, who 'has uſed you with ſo much diſreſpect, to eſcape with-'out having him baſtinadoed? I ſaw, the night be-'fore laſt, the poor Cardinal upon the point of treat-'ing him in that manner.' I received all this with ſomewhat leſs ſincerity than reſpect. She ordered me afterwards to go and ſee the poor Cardinal, both to comfort him, and adviſe with him what was to be done, in order to bring the people to a right temper.

I went

I went to the Cardinal without any manner of difficulty. He embraced me with a tenderneſs beyond expreſſion; I was the only honeſt man in France. All the reſt were but a pack of infamous flatterers, who, notwithſtanding his counſels and mine, had carried it with the Queen. He declared that he would not take one ſtep for the future, without having me for his guide. He communicated to me all the foreign diſpatches, and ſaid in ſhort ſo many unlikely things, that old Brouſſel, whom he had ſent for, and who came into his chamber quickly after me, could not forbear laughing as we came out; and though his ſimplicity came very near idiotiſm, he could whiſper me in the ear, 'This man is no-'thing but a pantaloon *' I came back to my houſe fully reſolved, as you may well think, to conſider about the ſafety of the publick, as well as my own. But all the means that I could find out, when I came to examine, ſeemed to me to be very difficult to bring about. I knew the parliament to be a body that would puſh things beyond meaſure. I knew that whilſt I was puzzling my head about means, they were deliberating on the town-houſe rents, of which the court had made a ſhameful commerce, or rather a public robbing. I conſidered that the army that got the victory at Lens would take winter-quarters near Paris, which, by means of that army, might very eaſily be inveſted, and have its proviſions cut off. I could not be ignorant that that ſame parliament which acted in this manner againſt the court, would be very apt to condemn as guilty thoſe that ſhould act in like manner, and to take in the mean while care for themſelves that they might not be oppreſſed. I knew that there were but few in that company that would not ſtart at the very propoſal, or to whom indeed it could be intruſted with any ſafety. I had before my eyes the great example of the inſtability of the people, and I was naturally averſe to violent means, which are often neceſſary for the fixing them.

* That word in this place ſignifies juggler.

St.

St. Ibal *, a relation of mine, and a man of wit and courage, but very odd in his notions, (for he valued men but at the rate of their being ill at court) preſſed me to enter into meaſures with Spain, where he had a great correſpondence by the way of the Count de Fuenſaldagne, Captain-general in the Low-Countries, under the Archduke †. He even gave me a letter of the Count's, full of many offers, which I refuſed to hearken to. I anſwered the letters only with expreſſions full of civility; and after many and very deep reflections, I determined at laſt to let the Spaniards know by the means of St. Ibal, but without engaging myſelf with them, that I was fully reſolved not to ſuffer Paris to be oppreſſed; that I would work to that effect jointly with my friends; that by my endeavours I would oblige the parliament to meaſure their ſteps a little better; and that I would ſtay for the Prince of Conde's return, being in very good terms with him, which made me hope that I might convince him how great the evil was, and how neceſſary it was to find out a remedy. I had the more reaſon to believe that I might wait the Prince of Condé's return, becauſe the time of vacations for the parliament drew near, which made me think that their aſſemblies ceaſing for a time, and the court conſequently not being preſſed by their deliberations, there might be on both ſides a kind of truce, which being well managed by the Prince, who was expected weekly, would eſtabliſh the public tranquility as well as the ſafety of particular perſons.

The parliament's impetuoſity broke my meaſures; for as ſoon as they had made an end of their regulations for the payment of the town-houſe rents, and of their remonſtrances for diſcharging the people of an intire quarter of the Taille, and of the loan to be made by all ſubaltern officers, they demanded, under pretence of the neceſſity there was for them to go about the Tarif, the continuation of their aſſemblies, even during

* St. Ibal, Montreſor, and ſome others, were very remarkable in thoſe days, for their hatred to the former miniſter as well as to this.

† Leopold-William of Auſtria.

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the time of their vacations. The Queen granted it for a fortnight, having full notice given her that they would order it themſelves if they were refuſed. I did all that I could to parry that blow, and I had brought Longueil and Brouſſel to be of my ſide, but Novion and Blancmeſnil, together with Viole, at whoſe houſe we had a meeting at eleven o'clock at night, declared that the parliament would hold for traitors thoſe that ſhould now propoſe a receſs; and Novion finding me to be ſtill inſiſting, began to ſuſpect that I might act myſelf in concert with the court. I took no manner of notice of his miſtruſt, but that brought to my remembrance the ſorry Geneva preacher, who ſuſpected the Admiral de Coligny, chief of the Huguenot party, to have confeſt himſelf to a Franciſcan friar at Nyort. I told it jeſtingly, when our conference was ended, to the Preſident le Coigneux, whoſe ſon you have now ſometime occaſion to ſee. That man was half mad, but had withal a great deal of wit, and having been the Duke of Orleans's miniſter in Flanders, he knew the world better than the others. His anſwer to me was: 'You 'do not know our gentlemen: this is the leaſt you 'are to expect from them. I will lay a wager, that 'that ſimpleton (pointing to Blancmeſnil) fancies that 'he has been at a meeting of witches, becauſe he 'came hither to meet us at eleven o'clock at night.' He had won the wager if he had laid; for Blancmeſnil declared to us before we parted, that he would have no more private conferences; that it favoured too much of faction and of plotting, and that a magiſtrate ought to deliver his opinion only upon the ſeat of juſtice, and without communicating before-hand with any body, for ſo the ordinances obliged him to do. This was the canvas on which he embroidered many ſuch impertinencies; which I take this notice of, to convince you, *That in a caſe like this, it is harder to pleaſe thoſe of your own party than to act againſt thoſe that are oppoſite to you.* I ſhall have mentioned all their doings in a word, when I have told you that they acted ſo finely as to oblige the Queen-regent to carry the King away to Ruel. She entertained ſome hopes that the vacations

vacations would have abated something of their heats, and that had obliged her to assure the Provost-des-Marchands that the rumour spread about of her removing the King from Paris was false. But at last she grew impatient, and did remove him. I doubted not but that her design was to attack Paris unawares; and it is certain, that the citizens were alarmed at the King's removal. I found even the next day a consternation among those that had acted with the greatest heat in the parliament. But that which increased it, was the news that came just at that time that Erlac * had passed the river Somme with four thousand Germans. And it being usual in popular commotions to have an ill piece of news followed by some others, so it happened in this case, for no less than five or six of that sort were noised abroad, which convinced me that my task would be still harder, to support people's spirits than to restrain them.

I have hardly found myself in the whole course of my life more perplexed than on this occasion. I saw the danger in all its extent, and I saw nothing in it but what appeared to me most terrible. *The greatest dangers have something pleasing in them, if there is but the least prospect of glory to be perceived in the ill success: but slight dangers are accompanied with nothing but horror, when ill fortune is to be attended with loss of reputation.* I had left nothing undone to hinder the parliament from carrying things to extremes, at least till expedients had been thought of, to defend ourselves from the insults of the court. For who could expect that the ministers would have missed laying hold of this opportunity? Which indeed it is likely they had not, if the Prince of Condé's return had not prevented what they probably designed. It was thought at the time that the King was removed from Paris, that the Prince's return was put off, at least for a while; so not imagining that I could have time to wait his coming as I intended, I came, though with a great deal of reluctancy, to a resolution which was a good one,

* He was Governor of Brisac, and commanded the Duke of Weymar's troops, after that Duke's death.

because

becauſe there was no other to take. *Extremes are always dangerous, but they become wiſe means, when they are neceſſary. There is that comfort in them, that they never work by halves, but will always decide the matter one way or other.* Fortune favoured my project. The Queen cauſed Chavigny to be arreſted, and to be ſent priſoner to Havre-de-Grace. I made uſe in this conjuncture of the great timorouſneſs of Viole, who was Chavigny's intimate friend, to animate him. I told him that what he had acted in the parliament was reckoned to have been done by Chavigny's inſtigation, for which Chavigny was now puniſhed, and therefore that he ought to expect the like uſage, and to look upon himſelf as a loſt man: that it was viſible that the court had left Paris only with a deſign to attack it: that he ſaw, as well as I, how low the ſpirits of people were: that if they were ſuffered to be quite depreſſed, it would be impoſſible to raiſe them up; that therefore it was neceſſary to ſupport them; that I acted with ſucceſs among the people, and that I applied to him as to the man whom I truſted and valued moſt, that he might act in concert with me in the parliament; that I was of opinion, that the company ought not to grow ſlack on this occaſion, but that knowing their temper as he did, he knew likewiſe that they wanted to be rouſed at this time, when it ſeemed that the King's removal had ſunk their ſpirits; and that one word from him ſpoke opportunely, would work that effect.

Theſe reaſons, and what Longueil, who had joined himſelf to me, added of his own, prevailed after great conteſts with the Preſident Viole, and obliged him to do purely out of fear, one of the boldeſt actions that has perhaps ever been ſpoken of. He took his time when the Preſident de Meſmes preſented to the parliament his commiſſion for the chamber of juſtice to ſpeak in the manner we had agreed on. He ſaid, that there were affairs beyond compariſon more preſſing than that of the chamber of juſtice; that there was a current report of a deſign to beſiege Paris; that troops were ordered to march; that the late King's beſt ſervants were

were impriſoned for their being thought likely to oppoſe ſuch pernicious deſigns; that he could not help repreſenting to the company, the neceſſity there was of addreſſing the Queen, in a moſt humble manner, to bring the King back to Paris; and becauſe every body muſt know who the author of theſe evils was, he ſhewed likewiſe the neceſſity of deſiring the Duke of Orleans, and the great officers of the crown, to come to the parliament in order to deliberate upon an arreſt given in 1617, on occaſion of the Mareſchal d'Ancre, whereby foreigners were forbidden to intermeddle with the government of the ſtate. That ſtring had appeared even to us very nice to harp upon, but nothing elſe was able to awaken, or rather to keep awake theſe men, who otherwiſe might eaſily have fallen into a lethargy, by reaſon of the fear with which they were ſeized. This paſſion does not commonly work that effect on particular perſons, but I have obſerved that it often does it upon companies. I could tell you the reaſon why, but I think it better not to interrupt the thread of this narration.

The effect which Viole's propoſition had on every body's mind, is hardly to be conceived. It firſt frighted them, afterwards rejoiced them, and emboldened them at laſt. They now looked on the King's being removed from Paris, with no other view but to bring him thither again, and on the troops, only to prevent the deſign they were intended for. Blancmeſnil, who had appeared to me in the morning as a deſpairing man, mentioned the Cardinal by his own name, who had hitherto been ſpoken of, only under the title of miniſter. The Preſident de Novion exclaimed againſt him in the bittereſt terms, and the parliament gave out, even with demonſtrations of chearfulneſs, an arreſt, whereby it was ordered that a moſt humble remonſtrance ſhould be made to the Queen for her bringing the King back, and her ordering the troops to remove from the neighbourhood of Paris; that the Princes with the Dukes and Peers, ſhould be deſired to meet in parliament, in order to deliberate on affairs relating to the welfare of the ſtate; and that the Prevoſt-des-Marchands

chands and the Echevins *, ſhould be ſent for to receive orders in relation to the ſafety of the town.

The firſt Preſident, who ſeldom ſpoke but with a great deal of ſpirit for the intereſt of that company, but who at the bottom was of the court party, ſaid to me a moment after his coming out of the parliament: 'Do not you admire theſe gentlemen? They have this 'moment given out an arreſt which may eaſily cauſe a 'civil war; and becauſe Cardinal Mazarin is not 'named in it, as Novione, Viole, and Blancmeſnil 'would have had it, they think that the Queen is 'much indebted to them.' I give you an account of theſe ſmall particulars, becauſe they are properer than great ones to let you into the genius and the ſtate of that company.

The Preſident Le Coigneux, whom I found at the firſt Preſident's, ſaid to me ſoftly: 'I rely only upon you; 'we are all loſt, if you do not work under ground.' It was what I actually did, for had I ſat up all night with St. Ibal about inſtructions, which I deſigned to ſend him with to Bruſſels, in order to treat with the Count de Fuenſaldagne, and to engage him to march in caſe of need with the Spaniſh army to ſuccour us. I could not anſwer for the parliament, but I engaged that in caſe Paris was attacked, and the parliament gave ground, I would declare myſelf, and make the people declare. This laſt might be depended upon, but the difficulty of making any thing of it without the help of the parliament, was very great. I knew it, but I knew ſtill better, that in ſome conjunctures it is even an act of prudence to rely on accidents.

St. Ibal had his boots on, and was upon the point of going, when Mr. de Châtillon came to my houſe; and the firſt thing which he ſaid to me was, that the Prince of Condé †, from whom he had juſt parted, was to be at Ruel the next day. It was not difficult for me to make him ſpeak, for he was my relation and friend,

* There are four in Paris, and their employments are ſomething like that of our ſheriffs.

† The Duke of Enguyen was become Prince of Conde by the death of his father.

and

and hated besides the Cardinal extremely. He told me that the Prince was enraged at him, and was persuaded that if he was let alone, he would ruin the kingdom; that the Prince on his particular had many great reasons to complain of him; that he had discovered at the army, that the Cardinal had got from him the Marquis de Noirmoutier, with whom he kept a secret correspondence, to have informations given him to his prejudice. In short, I found by all that Châtillon said, that the Prince of Condé had not entered into any particular measures with the court. This made me immediately alter my resolution. I ordered St. Ibal not to go on his journey, at which he was extremely angry; and though I designed at first to feign an illness, that I might not be obliged to go to Ruel, where I did not think myself safe, I now resolved to be there immediately after the Prince. I no longer feared to be arrested there, Châtillon having assured me that the Prince was far from any thoughts of violence, and having besides all possible reason to confide in the friendship he honoured me with. You have heard before, how much he had obliged me in the contest I had at Nôtre-Dame with the Duke of Orleans; and I had served him very warmly in the dispute which he had with that Duke, concerning the Cardinal's hat, to which the Prince of Conti his brother had declared his pretensions. La Riviere was so insolent as to complain of it, and Cardinal Mazarin was so weak as to balance about it. I offered the Prince the intervention of the whole church of Paris. I mention here this circumstance, which I had forgot before, that you may see that I might rationally enough appear at court.

The Queen received me admirably well, she was eating a collation near the grotto, and she affected to present some large Spanish lemons, only to the Princess Dowager of Condé, to the Prince her son, and to me. The Cardinal used me with more than ordinary civility, but I took notice of his attention in observing the manner which the Prince of Condé would receive me in. The Prince only embraced me as he went by in the garden; but at another turn he said softly to me:

me: 'I shall be to-morrow morning with you by 'seven: the crowd will be too great at the Hotel de 'Condé.'

He failed not to come, and we were no sooner alone in the garden belonging to the Archbishop's palace, but he ordered me to give him a true account of all matters, and of my thoughts upon them. I can, and ought to tell you for the sake of truth, that I have reason to wish that my whole discourse to him, which I spoke more from the heart than the lips, was printed and laid before the three estates of the realm to be examined. Many faults might be found in my expressions, but I dare assure you that my sentiments would not be condemned. We agreed that by my means the parliament should go on against the Cardinal as they had begun: that I should take the Prince along with me in the night-time, and in a private coach, to Longueil and to Brousel, to assure them that they should be protected in case of need: that the Prince should shew the Queen all possible marks of compliance and of affection, and should even carefully repair what he had done amiss, by appearing discontented with the Cardinal, that he might thereby ingratiate himself with the Queen and dispose her insensibly to hear and follow his advices; that at first he should seem as if he yielded to her in every thing, but that by degrees he should try to accustom her ears to hear those truths to which she had been hitherto averse: that the people's animosity increasing, and the parliament continuing their deliberations, the Prince should seem to be forced at last, against his own inclination and by meer necessity, to hearken to them; and so letting the Cardinal drop rather than fall, he would find himself master at court by his influence over the Queen; and the umpire among the public, by the state things were in, and by means of his friends and dependants.

It is certain that in the present agitation, there was but that single remedy for the setting things again upon a right foot; and as that remedy was necessary, so was it likewise easy. It did not please divine Providence to bless it, though it had given it the best beginning

that

that ever project had. You shall hear in what manner it went on, after I have said a word of what passed immediately before.

The Queen, who had left Paris only to be more at hand, and at liberty to stay for the return of the army with which she designed to insult or to famish the city (for it is certain that both these thoughts came into her head) shewed no great regard for the parliament in relation to their last arrest, whereby she was desired to bring the King back to Paris. Her answer to the deputies that went to her for that purpose, was, that she wondered extreamly at what they did; that it was usual for the King to take the air yearly at this season; and that his health was dearer to her than the people's foolish fears. The Prince of Condé, who came just at that instant, and who would not consent to the design which the court had to attack Paris, thought that he ought at least to give the Queen all the other marks he could of his dependance on her will. He told the President and the two Counsellors that invited him to take his place in parliament, as the arrest directed, that he would not go, but would obey the Queen were he to perish for it. His impetuous humour carried him, in the heat of his discourse, further than he would have gone had he had time to consider of it, as you may easily judge by what I have mentioned of the disposition in which he was, even before I had spoken to him. The Duke of Orleans refused likewise to go, saying that the company proposed things too bold and unwarrantable: the Prince of Conti spoke to the same effect.

The next day the King's council brought to the parliament an arrest of the upper council, which annulled the arrest of parliament, forbidding them to deliberate upon the arrest given in 1617 against the administration of foreigners. The company debated with the greatest heat possible: they sent for the Prevost-des-Marchands to provide for the safety of the city: they commanded all Governors of places to leave all passages free, and they ordered that the next day, all other business being laid aside, they should deliberate upon the arrest of

1617.

1617. I acted all night long with an incredible diligence *, to break those measures, which I had reason to fear would precipitate matters so far as to engage the Prince of Condé, even against his will, in the court party. Longueil stirred all night for the same purpose: Broussel promised him that he would open an advice that should be moderate: the others, either assured me that they would do the like, or gave me room to hope that they would. The next day they acted quite otherwise. They began by inflaming one another before they sat down. That cursed spirit of pedantry or formality which I have already mentioned, became master of them, and the same men who two days before trembled for fear, and whom I could hardly put in heart again, passed of a sudden and without knowing why, from a fear even well grounded into a blind rage. That rage was such that they did not so much as consider that the General of that very army which had occasioned their greatest fright, was now come in person, and that they ought to be more afraid of him than of his army, because they had reason to believe him ill affected towards them, as having ever been strongly attached to the court. Without entering into any of these considerations they pronounced an arrest, which obliged the Queen to remove from Paris, the Duke of Anjou †, with his face still red of the small-pox, and even the Dutchess of Orleans, sick as she was; and which had begun a civil war the next day, if the Prince of Condé, with whom I had a second conference upon that subject that lasted three hours, had not come to a resolution the best and wisest that could be thought of, though he had a very ill opinion of the Cardinal, as well in regard to the public as to himself in particular; and though he was but little pleased with the parliament, with whom no measures could be taken, as a body; and no sure ones with any particular member. He balanced not one single moment to chuse what he thought the most beneficial to

* The French copy says, Beyond possibility.

† Philip of France, only brother to King Lewis the XIVth. and father to the present regent,

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the ſtate, which was to keep a middle and an even way between the cabinet council and the parliament; between the faction and the court. What he ſaid on this occaſion has ever been imprinted in my mind, even when our conteſts were at the higheſt. Theſe were his words: 'Mazarin knows not what he does, and would 'ruin the ſtate if he was not looked after: the parliament goes too faſt: ſo you have told me, and ſo 'I find it. If they would meaſure their ſteps we might 'do our buſineſs together, and that of the public too. 'They precipitate themſelves, and if I did the like 'with them, I might poſſibly come off a greater gainer 'than they. But my name is Lewis de Bourbon, and 'I will not endanger the crown. Are thoſe deviliſh 'ſquare caps * mad, to engage me either to begin a 'civil war to-morrow, or to deſtroy them themſelves, 'and to put over their heads and over mine, a ſhabby 'Sicilian, who will ruin us all at laſt?'

It was certainly not without cauſe that the Prince of of Condé was troubled and vexed; for Brouſſel, with whom he had himſelf concerted meaſures, and who had poſitively promiſed me to be moderate in that deliberation, was the man that firſt propoſed the arreſt, and he gave me no other reaſon for it than the general ferment which he ſaw working in the minds of people. The concluſion of my conference with the Prince was, That he ſhould immediately go to court, and oppoſe there as he had already done the project of attacking Paris, which had been concerted and reſolved upon before; and that he ſhould propoſe to the Queen, that the Duke of Orleans and he ſhould write to the parliament, to deſire them to ſend ſome deputies to confer with, and to ſeek for means to remedy the grievances of the ſtate.

I am obliged to declare, for the ſake of truth, that I thought not at all of that expedient, which came altogether from the Prince. I was, it is true, charmed when I heard it, and it touched me to a degree that the Prince could not but take notice of my tranſport,

* The Preſidents and Counſellors of the parliament wear ſquare caps.

at

at which he kindly said to me: 'How different you 'are from what they think you at Court! Would to 'God that all those rogues of ministers meant as well 'as you.' I had assured the Prince, that the parliament could not be otherwise than extreamly pleased with the honour of receiving letters from the Duke of Orleans and from him, upon that subject; but I had added, That considering the parliament's animosity, I was in doubt whether they would confer with the Cardinal; that I was persuaded, that if his Highness could oblige the Court, one way or other, not to insist upon the Cardinal's being present, nor make that one of the conditions of the conference, he would thereby gain a considerable advantage to himself, because the whole credit of an accommodation would be ascribed only to him, the Duke of Orleans in such cases being commonly looked upon as a meer cypher; and because the exclusion of the Cardinal would extreamly discredit his ministry, and would be of mighty help to the blow which he designed to give him in the cabinet. The Prince saw very well how much this tended to his interest; and the parliament's answer to Choisi, the Duke of Orleans's Chancellor, and to the Chevalier de Riviere, Gentleman of the Chamber to the Prince, who had presented their master's letters; the parliament's answer, I say, being that they would send their deputies to St. Germains the next day, to confer only with the Princes; the Prince of Condé made a very dextrous use of this answer to persuade the Cardinal not to expose his person, but to make (as prudence required) a virtue of necessity. This was a cruel stroke to the person of a Cardinal, acknowledged as first minister from the late King's death; neither was what followed after, less shameful to him. The President Viole, who had first proposed in parliament the renewing the arrest of 1617, against foreigners, came, upon the Prince of Condé's word, to St. Germains, whither the King was gone from Ruel. The President was admitted without any contest, at the conference which was held at the Duke of Orleans's, and where the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the

Duke de Longueville, assisted. Almost all the articles which had been proposed in St. Lewis's chamber were discussed there, and the Princes agreed to many of them without much difficulty; but the first President's complaint of Chavigny's imprisonment, occasioned a great contest. He was answered, That the parliament had nothing to do in Chavigny's concern, because he was not of their body; to which the first President replied, that the ordinances directed that no body should be kept in prison above twenty-four hours, without being examined. The Duke of Orleans rose up all in a heat at that word, which, as he pretended, kept the royal authority within too streight bounds. Viole maintained that point with vigour; the deputies stuck close to it with one accord, and upon their reporting the matter the next day to the parliament, they were applauded for it. That point was carried on and pursued with so much vigour, that the Queen was obliged to consent that the declaration should import; That no body, even of the common people, should be kept above three days prisoner, without being brought to an examination. That clause obliged the court to set Chavigny immediately at liberty, because there was no ground for examining him in form; and this article, which was called, *The article that concerned the public safety*, was almost the only one that met with any considerable opposition. The ministers were very unwilling to tye themselves up to a rule so contrary to their practice; but the parliament was as unwilling to yield up an ancient ordinance granted by our Kings, at the request of the estates of the kingdom. The three and twenty other propofals made in St. Lewis's chamber passed without any great contest as to their substance, though they occasioned a pretty great heat among some particular persons. There were five conferences held at St. Germains. None but the Princes assisted at the first, of the court side. The Chancellor and the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who had been made Superintendant of the Finances in the room of Emeri, were admitted in the four others. There, some hard words arose between the Chancellor

and

and the first President, who had a contempt for the other which he carried even beyond good manners. The next day after each conference, the report which the deputies made of it, was examined in parliament. I should tire you if I gave you an account of all the scenes that were there presented to the public. It is enough to tell you in general, that the parliament having obtained, or rather carried, all their demands without exception, which were to have the ancient ordinances restored by the King's declaration, of which they themselves had the wording, thought that they yielded a great deal by promising that they would now cease to assemble. You will have a view of the whole declaration, if you are pleased to join together the several proposals which I have mentioned before, and which were made from time to time by the parliament, and by the assembly held in St. Lewis's Chamber. The day after this declaration was published and registered, which was the twenty-fourth of October 1648, the parliament begun their vacations, and soon after the Queen brought the King to Paris. Before I go on to what followed, I must give you an account here of two or three matters that happened whilst the conferences were holding.

Madam de Vendosme presented a petition to the parliament for the justification of her son the Duke of Beaufort, who had made his escape out of his prison of the Bois-de-Vincennes upon Whitsunday, with as much courage as good fortune. I did my best to serve him in this occasion, and Mademoiselle de Vendôme his sister, who was now Dutchess de Nemours, owned to me that I was not ungrateful.

My conduct was not so good on another occasion. The Cardinal, who wished earnestly to discredit me with the public, had engaged the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who, as I have said, was Superintendant of the Finances, and my friend, to bring to my house forty thousand crowns, which the Queen had sent me for the paying of my debts, in acknowledgment, as she said, of the services which I had endeavoured to do her upon the day that the barricadoes were set up. I

beg of you to obſerve, that the Mareſchal, who had given me the beſt informations of the ſentiments that the court had of me in relation to what happened on that day, was now perſuaded in his conſcience that they had altered thoſe ſentiments, becauſe the Cardinal had expreſſed before him a great ſorrow for the wrong he had done me, having ſince, as he ſaid, clearly diſcovered the miſtake he was then in. I mention this circumſtance of the Mareſchal, only becauſe it ſerves to ſhew you, *that men at court that are naturally weak will always believe what the miniſter takes but the leaſt pains to perſuade them of.* I have obſerved it a thouſand times, and if they are not made fools of, it is only the miniſter's fault. But that ſort of weakneſs for the court not being my defect, what the Mareſchal de la Meilleraie ſaid worked not the ſame effect on me as the Cardinal's words had worked upon him. I refuſed to accept what the Queen ſent me, and I did it in the civil manner which is required on ſuch occaſions, but with a ſincerity anſwerable to theirs that had ſent me the preſent.

The point wherein I fell into their ſnares was this: the Mareſchal d'Eſtrées was treating about the government of Paris with Mr. de Montbazon. Cardinal Mazarin obliged d'Eſtrées to ſeem to have altered his mind about it, and to endeavour to put that ſame deſign in my head, as being a thing that concerned me much, and which I was the more likely to come into, becauſe the Prince de Guimené, whom that poſt did not ſuit with, having the ſurvivorſhop of it, and being conſequently to receive part of the ſum that was to be paid; that would pleaſe the Princeſs de Guimené, whoſe intereſt they knew I was not indifferent to. Had I had the leaſt ſenſe, I had not harkened to a propoſal of that nature, which had put me, if it had ſucceeded, to the neceſſity either of making uſe of that poſt againſt the court intereſt, which certainly had not been right; or to prefer the duty of a governor to that of an archbiſhop, which was directly againſt my intereſt and reputation. This I ſhould have foreſeen if I had been in my ſenſes; but if I had had one ſingle

grain

grain of ſenſe left me on this occaſion, I had kept at leaſt my proneneſs to the thing hid, 'till I was convinced of its likelineſs to ſucceed. But the ſight of a governor's ſtaff laid acroſs a biſhop's croſier made ſuch a pretty figure in my eyes, that it altogether dazzled me. The Cardinal having effected what he deſigned, which was to caſt a public blemiſh upon me in relation to my private intereſt, which hitherto it had not been poſſible for him to take the leaſt hold of againſt me, obliged the Mareſchal d'Eſtrées to raiſe difficulties that broke the bargain. I committed at that inſtant a ſecond fault, as great almoſt as the firſt; for inſtead of reaping what profit I could of what I had done amiſs, which I might have done two or three ſeveral ways, I fell in a paſſion, and ſaid all that a blind rage could inſpire me with againſt the miniſter; and this I ſpoke to Brancas, the Mareſchal d'Eſtrées's nephew, who even at that time had thought it a vice not to diſcover to the men in power what he heard the leſſer ones ſpeak againſt them. It is impoſſible for me to give you any tolerable reaſon for my acting in that manner. My beſt way therefore is, to make uſe of that principal which I have imprinted in me, whereby I take a greater pleaſure in acknowledging my faults to you, than I ſhould in hearing myſelf juſtly praiſed. I return to public affairs.

The declaration of which I ſpoke laſt, with the King's return to Paris, and the Parliament's not aſſembling, appeaſed for a moment the people, who were ſo incenſed, that two or three days before that declaration was regiſtered, they were near to have maſſacred the firſt Preſident, and the Preſident de Neſmond, becauſe the company went not ſo faſt on in their deliberations upon the impoſt on the entry of wine, as the merchants expected. The heat returned with the St. Martin*. The vintage vapours ſeemed to have reached peoples heads, and to have made every one drunk. The ſcenes which you have hitherto ſeen were but

* The time when the parliament meet again after their vacation.

rural and paſtoral, compared to thoſe you are now to ſee.

There is a critical minute in every thing, and the maſter-piece of good conduct is to perceive it, and take hold of it. If it is miſſed chiefly in revolutions of ſtate, 'tis odds if it can be met with or perceived again. There are thouſands and thouſands examples of it. The ſix or ſeven weeks that paſſed from the publiſhing the declaration to the St. Martin of the year 1648, preſent us with one which we have but too much felt. Every one found his account in that declaration, that is, that they found it, had they underſtood it right. The parliament had the honour of having reſtored good order; the Princes not only ſhared that honour with them, but reaped beſides the profit of it, which was their own ſafety, and a greater reſpect which they received thereby from others; the people eaſed of above ſixty millions, found in it a conſiderable relief; and if Cardinal Mazarin's genius had led him towards turning to his own honour, the neceſſity which he was put to, which is one of the moſt neceſſary qualifications in a miniſter, he might in time, by a privilege always annexed to favour, have appropriated to himſelf the greateſt part of the merit, even of thoſe things which he had the moſt oppoſed.

Theſe were ſignal advantages for every one, and every one let theſe advantages ſlip, for conſiderations that were ſo ſlight, that they ought not in right reaſon to have occaſioned the loſs of much leſſer ones. The people to whom the aſſemblies of parliament had given a new life, were ſtartled (when thoſe aſſemblies ceaſed) at the approach of ſome troops, which it was certainly ridiculous to take any umbrage at, in regard both of their ſmall number, and of many other circumſtances. The parliament, on their part, treated all trifles that tended in the leaſt to the non-performance of the declaration, with the ſame rigour and the ſame formalities that they had treated of a default or a foreclosure. The Duke of Orleans ſaw all the good which he might do, and part of the evil which he might prevent; but the view he had of it not working upon his fear,

fear, which was the paſſion that maſtered him, that view did not ſtrike him enough to move him. The Prince of Condé ſaw the evil in all its extent; but courage being his moſt natural virtue, he did not fear that evil ſo much as he ought to have done. He willed the good, but he willed it only after his own manner. His age, his humour, and his victories, ſuffered him not to add patience to activity; and he did not take notice early enough of that maxim ſo neceſſary to Princes; *That they are to look on ſmall accidents as on victims only, which ought always to be ſacrificed to greater affairs.* The Cardinal, who was altogether unacquainted with our manners, was continually confounding the moſt important affairs with the ſlighteſt. The very next day after that declaration was publiſhed, which, in the humour people were then in, was looked upon as a fundamental law of the ſtate; the next day, I ſay, after its being publiſhed, it was broke into, and altered in trifling articles, which the Cardinal ought to have obſerved, even with oſtentation, to colour what contraventions he might be obliged to commit in greater. The conſequence of this conduct was, that ſoon after the opening of the parliament, the chambers renewed their aſſemblies, and that even the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, to whom the declaration was carried that ſame month of November to be verified, took the liberty of adding more clauſes and modifications than the parliament had done.

The Court of Aids, among other things, forbad, upon pain of death, the farming out of the Tailles; but being ſent for upon that ſubject to the Palais-Royal, and having in a manner receded from their firſt arreſt, by permitting to lend money for ſix months upon that fund, the parliament took it very ill, and aſſembled the 30th of December, as well about that matter as about another declaration which they knew was preparing at the Chamber of Accounts, to validate thoſe loans upon the Tailles for ever. I beg that you would obſerve, that ſo ſoon as the 16th of December, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, had been at the parliament to put a ſtop to their aſſemblies,

and to oblige the company to go to work only by deputies, about examining the articles of the declaration, which they pretended that the minister had infringed. The parliament yielded to them in this point; but after a very sharp contest, the Prince of Condé grew extremely angry; and it was even said, that he made a sign with his little finger, which was taken for a threatning. He has often told me since, that he never had that in his thoughts; but it is certain, that most of the counsellors believed it, and that a murmuring arose upon it, and if the clock had not struck*, matters were like to grow more enflamed.

They appeared cooler the next day, because the company had consented, as I have already mentioned, to examine the contraventions made to the declaration only by deputies, and at the first President's house. But that appearance of a calm lasted not long. The parliament resolved, on the second of January 1648-9, to assemble again in a body, about providing for the execution of the declaration, which they pretended to have been broke, chiefly the eight or ten last days, in all its articles. This obliged the Queen to remove the King from Paris upon Twelfth-day, at four in the morning, and the whole court followed him. The particular springs of this great movement are curious enough, though they are but very simple.

You are sufficiently apprized, by what I have already said, of the motives which obliged the Queen, led as she was by the Cardinal, to act as she did; and likewise of those of the Duke of Orleans, who was governed by la Riviere, the man of his time of the vilest mind, and the most selfish. I shall now give you my opinion about the Prince of Condé's motives, as they have appeared to me. The parliament's want of discretion, which I have taken notice of before, begun to disgust the Prince almost as soon as he had entered into the measures with Brousel and with Longueil. That disgust happening at a time when the Queen caressed him, and the Cardinal seemed to stoop to him;

* Twelve at noon, the hour at which the company usually rises.

and

and being joined to the natural inclination which he had inherited both from his father and mother not to love to fall out with the court, weakened eaſily enough in his mind the reaſons which his great heart had ſuggeſted to him. I perceived immediately that change. I was grieved at it for mine and the public's ſake, but much more for his own. I loved him as much as I honoured him, and I ſaw at one view a precipice opened for him. I ſhould tire you, ſhould I relate all the converſations which I had with him upon that ſubject. This alone of which I am going to give you the particulars, will make you judge of the reſt. It happened the afternoon of the day on which it was pretended that he had threatned the parliament.

I then found that his diſguſt, which I had before perceived, was changed into anger, and even into indignation. He began to ſwear, and to ſay, that it was no longer poſſible to bear the impertinence and the inſolence of theſe citizens, whoſe intent was to attack the royal authority. That ſo long as he believed that they had had only Mazarin in their view, he was of their ſide; but that I had myſelf confeſt many times to him, that no ſtable meaſures could be entered into with men that could never be ſure of themſelves for a quarter of an hour together, becauſe they could never be ſure of their companies for one inſtant: that he could not reſolve upon becoming the general of an army of mad men, becauſe no man in his ſenſes could ever join and engage with ſuch a rout as they were: that he was a Prince of the Blood, and would not indanger the ſtate: that had the parliament followed the ſteps that were agreed on, the ſtate might have been redreſſed; but that the courſe they took was the way to ruin all. The Prince added to this many other reflections relating to himſelf and to the public. I anſwered him in theſe words:

'I agree with you, Sir, in all your general maxims: 'give me leave to apply them to the particular fact. 'Suppoſing that the parliament did in effect labour to 'ruin the ſtate; it is however certain, that their in-

'tention is not to ruin it. Nobody has a greater in-
'tereſt than the parliament to maintain the royal au-
'thority; it is what every body owns. When there-
'fore ſovereign courts do ill that way, it muſt be ac-
'knowledged, that it is only becauſe they know not
'how to do the good, which they certainly have in
'their will to do. The ability of a miniſter who
'knows how to manage the people, together with
'theſe bodies, conſiſts in keeping them in the equili-
'brium, in which they ought naturally to be. Then
'may he expect to ſee the bodies go on with ſucceſs,
'by keeping a juſt medium between the Prince's au-
'thority and the obedience of the people. The pre-
'ſent miniſter has neither penetration nor ſtrength ſuf-
'ficient to regulate the weights of this great clock-
'work. There are in it wheels within wheels. Thoſe
'wheels that ſhould keep the clock in a moderate mo-
'tion go on too faſt, and in that lies the defect of the
'whole machine. Your Highneſs is willing to re-
'dreſs it, and is in that ſo much the more in the
'right, that there is none but yourſelf that is able to
'do it. But is it the way to redreſs it, to join with
'thoſe that would deſtroy it? You acknowledge the
'Cardinal's wrong ſteps; you acknowledge his
'thoughts to be bent upon ſettling in France a power
'which he never knew but in Italy. Should he ſuc-
'ceed, would that be for the intereſt of France, ac-
'cording to her ſound and true maxims? Would it
'be in any-wiſe for the intereſt of the Princes of the
'Blood? But beſides, is he in a condition to ſucceed?
'Does he not bend under the weight of the public
'contempt and hatred? Is not the parliament the
'people's idol? I know that you account the people
'for nothing, becauſe the court is provided with an
'army; but give me leave to tell you, that they
'ought to be accounted for much, whenſoever they
'account themſelves to be all in all. This is now
'their caſe. They themſelves begin to account your
'armies for nothing, and the misfortune is, that their
'power conſiſts in their imagination; for it may truly
'be ſaid, that there is this difference between their

'power

'power and all other sorts of power; that when the 'people are wound up to a certain pitch, they are 'able to perform whatever they think they may. 'Your Highness was telling me some days ago, that 'that disposition of the people was but a smoak; but 'that smoak, so thick and so black, is kept up by a 'fire very quick and well lighted. The parliament 'blows that fire, and the parliament, with the best in-'tentions in the world, and the most innocent, may 'likely enough blow it into such a flame, that they 'will be themselves set on fire and consumed by it; 'but not without hazarding the whole state in these 'intervals, and that more than once. *It is common for 'such bodies as the parliament, to examine and pursue 'with too great rigour the minister's faults, when once 'they fall foul upon them; but they seldom or never make 'a right use of their imprudences; which in some occa-'sions is enough to ruin a state.* Had the parliament, 'some time before your Highness's arrival, made any 'answer to the Cardinal's ridiculous and pernicious 'proposal, whereby they were commanded to declare, 'whether their intent was to set bounds to the royal 'authority; had not the wisest heads of that company 'eluded the answer; France, in my opinion, had been 'in danger, because, if the company had declared for 'the affirmative, as they were very near doing, they 'had rent the vail which covers the mystery of the 'state: every monarchy has its mystery that of 'France consists in a kind of religious and sacred 'silence, wherein the people, by obeying the King '(almost always blindly) bury the right they have 'to do otherwise; which right they are willing 'to take up, only in such emergencies when their 'obedience would be a disservice to their Kings. It 'was a miracle that the parliament at that time did 'not pull off that state vail, and that they did not pull 'it off in form and by an arrest, which would be of a 'much more dangerous and fatal consequence, than 'the liberty which the people has taken of late to 'look through it. If that liberty which has already 'gained the borders of our parliament courts, had 'reached the grand chamber, it had quickly turned

'into revered laws, what is yet but a doubtful queſ-
'tion, and what was, not long ago, but an unknown,
'or at leaſt but an awful myſtery. Your Highneſs is
'not like to put a ſtop by force of arms to the conſe-
'quences that muſt follow the unhappy ſtate which I
'have been repreſenting, and to which it is to be feared
'that we are too near. You ſee how hard it is for
'the parliament to contain the people which they
'themſelves have ſtirred: you ſee how the evil ſpreads
'every where, and how in Guienne and Provence they
'already give to others the dangerous example which
'they have received from Paris. The whole kingdom
'is in a motion, and your Highneſs alone is able to
'fix that motion, by reaſon of your illuſtrious birth,
'of your high reputation, and of the general perſua-
'ſion in which people are, that none but you can do
'it. It may truly be ſaid, that the Queen partakes
'the hatred which the people have for the Cardinal,
'and the Duke of Orleans, the contempt which they
'have for la Riviere. If you comply with any of their
'doings, you muſt expect to ſhare the public hatred.
'You are, 'tis true, above contempt, but you can-
'not hinder fear from taking in peoples minds the
'room of contempt, and that fear will exaſperate to
'ſuch a degree the hatred which the people will con-
'ceive againſt you, and the contempt they have al-
'ready for the others, that the evil which is now only
'dangerous to the ſtate, may become mortal, and may
'poſſibly, in the ſequel of the revolution, mix with
'that evil a deſpair of a pardon, which in theſe caſes
'is always the moſt dangerous and the laſt ſymptom
'of the diſeaſe. I am not ignorant of the juſt reaſons
'your Highneſs has to fear the proceedings of a body
'compoſed of above two hundred heads, and which is
'fit neither to govern, nor to be governed. That ob-
'ſtacle is great, but, in my opinion, may be removed,
'and even with eaſe in this preſent conjuncture, con-
'ſidering other particular circumſtances. Let us ſup-
'poſe that there is a party formed; that manifeſtos are
'publiſhed; that you are at the head of an army; that
'in fine you are declared the general of that party

'which

'which the parliament is come into: would you be 'leſs able, Sir, to bear that weight than your grand-'father* and great grand-father† were to bear the 'weight of the party they headed, when they were 'forced to comply with the humours of the miniſters 'of Rochel, and of the mayors of Niſmes and Mon-'tauban? Or why ſhould your Highneſs find a greater 'difficulty to manage the parliament of Paris than the 'Duke of Mayenne‡ did during the league, which 'was the faction in the world the moſt oppoſed to all 'the maxims of the parliament? Your birth and merit 'raiſe you as much above this laſt example, as the 'preſent cauſe is above that of the league. Beſides 'the manner of executing the thing is very different. 'The head of the league, when he declared war, had 'joined himſelf publicly and openly with the Spani-'ards againſt the crown of France, and againſt the 'perſon of one of the braveſt and beſt Kings|| France 'ever had. The Duke de Mayenne however, though 'come of a foreign and ſuſpected ſtock, could main-'tain for a long while in his intereſt, that ſame parlia-'ment, the ſingle thought of which is a pain to you; 'when in this preſent conjuncture you would be ſo far 'from involving them in a long war, that your joining 'with them would only be to procure them peace and 'ſafety. You have opened your mind but to two men 'of that whole body, and not till they had both of 'them paſſed their word, that they would keep your 'intent ſecret to all the reſt without exception. How 'can your Highneſs pretend, that theſe two men may 'be able, by means of what you have communicated 'to them with ſuch reſtrictions, to regulate the mo-'tions of their whole body? I dare be anſwerable to

* Henry of Bourbon, the firſt of the name.

† Lewis of Bourbon, the firſt of the name.

‡ Charles Duke of Mayenne, who after the death of his brother Henry, firſt of that name, Duke of Guiſe, and of his brother Lewis, Cardinal of Guiſe, who were both killed at Blois, by the order of Henry the Third, became the head of the faction, called the Holy League.

|| Henry IV.

'you

'you, Sir, that if you are pleased to declare yourself 'the protector of the public, and of all the sovereign 'courts of judicature, you may dispose of them, for a 'long time at least, in an absolute and almost sove-'reign manner. But this is not your view: you have 'no mind to fall out with the court; you had rather 'be of the cabinet council than of the faction. Do 'not therefore take it ill, that men that see you only 'in that light, measure not all their steps as your con-'veniency best requires. You ought rather to measure 'your steps by theirs, because their steps are public; 'and that you might do, because the Cardinal, crushed 'as he is under the weight of public hatred, is too 'weak to oblige you to come to an open rupture be-'fore you have brought matters to a readiness. La 'Riviere, who governs the Duke of Orleans, is the 'man in the world the most timorous. Continue to 'shew that you seek only to mitigate things, and let 'them go on according to your first plan. Will a little 'more or less heat in the parliament make you fall off 'from what you had projected? What matters, after 'all, more or less heat? The worst that can happen is, 'that the Queen believes that you have her interest 'too little at heart. Are there no means to be found 'to make her think otherwise? No appearances to 'make use of, or even realities? In short, Sir, give me 'leave to tell your Highness, that never project was so 'fine, so innocent, so necessary, and even so sacred, 'as that which you have formed; and that never rea-'sons were, at least in my opinion, so weak as those 'which you oppose to its execution. Among the 'reasons that ought to induce you to the contrary, 'one of the least is, that if Cardinal Mazarin does 'not succeed in his undertaking, he may involve you 'in his ruin; and if he does succeed, he will make 'use for ruining you of whatever you may have done 'towards the raising him up.'

You may see by this speech's being so ill put toge-ther, that it was spoken without any preparation. Upon my coming home from the Prince, I made Laigues write it down, and he shewed it me the last time I was

at

at Paris. I did not perſuade the Prince of Condé, who was already prepoſſeſſed. He anſwered the particular reaſons which I made uſe, only by general ones, which is pretty much his way. Heroes have their defects: that of the Prince of Condé was, with one of the fineſt wits in the world, not to enter enough into particulars, nor weigh things together. Thoſe that were pleaſed to think that he endeavoured at firſt to exaſperate matters by means of Longueil, of Brouſſel, and of myſelf, that he might thereby become more neceſſary to the court, and with a view of doing for the Cardinal what he afterwards did, wrong his virtue and the truth, as much as they pretend to honour his ability. Thoſe likewiſe that believe that leſſer intereſts, as thoſe of penſions, of govenments, of ſettlements, were the only cauſes of his change, are not much leſs miſtaken. The view of being uppermoſt in the cabinet council helped certainly to occaſion it, but of itſelf had not prevailed over other conſiderations The true cauſe of his change was, that though at firſt he perceived every thing alike, he did not feel all alike. The firſt idea with which he was ſtruck, was the honour of being the reſtorer of the public, and the ſecond that of being the preſerver of the royal authority. This is the character of all thoſe that have the defects which I have but juſt mentioned. For though they perceive very well, and even at one view, the inconveniencies and advantages of the two parties they are balancing about, yet they do not weigh together theſe inconveniencies and theſe advantages; ſo that what appears to them the lighteſt one day, will the next day appear to them the weightieſt. This was exactly what made the Prince change; upon which it muſt be owned, that what has not honoured his views, or rather his reſolution, has fully cleared his intention. Neither can it be denied, but if that intention of his had been rightly carried on, he would certainly have redreſſed the ſtate, and that perhaps for ages. When, on the other hand, every one muſt allow, that if he had had an ill intention, he might have gone as far as he had pleaſed, at a time when want of years in the King, the Queen's obſtinacy,

naccy, the Duke of Orlean's weakneſs, the incapacity of the miniſter, the licentiouſneſs of the people, and the heat in which the parliament was, opened to a young Prince full of merit, and loaded with laurels, a finer and larger liſt than the Princes of the houſe of Guiſe had entered.

In the converſation that I had with him, he repeated two or three times angrily, that he would let the parliament ſee, if they went on as they uſed to do, that they were further off than they thought from what they expected, and that it would be no hard matter to humble them. To ſay the truth, I was not ſorry that he gave me that handle to draw out of him as much as I could of the court's intention. It is true, that he did not altogether explain his meaning, but I diſcovered enough to confirm myſelf in the thoughts I had, that they began to renew their firſt deſign of attacking Paris. That I might be the better informed, I told the Prince that the Cardinal might eaſily be miſtaken in his meaſures, and that Paris would prove a morſel hard to digeſt. To which the Prince replied angrily: 'Paris is not to be taken like Dunkirk, by mines and 'by attacks; but if they wanted bread there but for a 'week'——— I underſtood his meaning, and interrupting him, I ſaid, much leſs with a deſign to know more, than to find room to diſengage myſelf from him: that the deſign of preventing Paris from being ſupplyed with bread, would meet with difficulties. 'Of what ſort,' ſaid he haſtily? 'Dare the citi-'zens come out to give battle?' 'The battle, Sir, 'anſwered I, would be eaſily won, if there was nobody 'beſides themſelves.' 'Who then will be with them,' 'replied he? Do you intend to be there?' 'That 'would be an ill ſign, anſwered I, and would ſavour 'too much of the proceſſion made in the time of the 'league.' He conſidered a little, and then ſaid; 'Let 'us ſpeak ſeriouſly: could you be mad enough to en-'gage with theſe men?' 'I am but too much inclined 'that way, anſwered I: you know it, Sir, and you 'know beſides, that I am Coadjutor of Paris, and 'conſequently engaged to defend it out of a principle

'both

'both of honour and of interest. I shall as long as I 'live serve your Highness in what does not touch this 'point.' I could perceive that the Prince was moved to hear me declare myself in that manner; however he contained himself, and said; 'When you engage in a 'bad affair, I shall pity you, but shall have no reason 'to complain of you. Do not complain of me neither, 'and be a witness for me, as indeed you ought, that I 'have promised Longueil nor Brousel nothing but 'what the parliament has released me from by their 'doings.' He used me afterwards very kindly as to my person: he offered to reconcile me with the court. I assured him of my zeal and obedience in every thing that might agree with my enagagements, which were known to him, and from which I made him own, that it was not possible for me to come off; and so I left the Hotel de Condé in a great agitation of mind.

Montresor and St. Ibal came to me just at the time that I was making an end of dictating to Laigues the conversation that I had had with the Prince, and they did what they could to oblige me to send to Brussels that very moment. Though I felt within me a great reluctancy to be the first that should mix in our affairs any grain of the Spanish Catholicon*, necessity forced me to do it, and I began to indite the instruction which was to contain many heads, and which for that reason was left to the next day to make an end of.

Fortune presented me in the afternoon with a way more pleasing and more innocent. I went by chance to make a visit to Madam de Longueville, whom I saw but seldom, because I was an intimate friend of the Duke her husband, who was not the man of the court on the best terms with her. I found her alone, and in the conversation which I had with her she fell of herself on public affairs, which were in fashion, and she seemed to me to be enraged at the court. I knew by

* During the league in France, that name was given to the intrigues of the court of Spain, which stirred up in France the animosity of the factious, under pretence of religion, and of public good.

what

what was publicly reported, that she was no less enraged at the Prince of Condé, her brother, and to that report I added what I could gather from some words she dropped. I was not likewise ignorant that the Prince of Conti was entirely at her disposal. All these ideas came of a sudden into my head, and brought a thought thither which I shall give you an account of, after I have a little explained what I have now touched upon.

Mademoiselle de Bourbon had loved her eldest brother with the greatest tenderness possible, but some time after her marriage with the Duke de Longueville, she was possessed against him, with a rage that was carried to an incredible excess. You may easily believe that this was ground enough among the publick to make sad comments upon a conduct of which no body could perceive the true motives. As for my part I could never find them out *, but I have always been persuaded that what was said about it at court was not true, because if there had really been a love-passion between them, the Prince had not preserved for her the tenderness which he shewed in the greatest heat of her affair with Colligni. I have observed that their rupture happened not till after his death, and I know for certain that the Prince was not ignorant of his sister's real passion for that gentleman. The passionate love which the prince of Conti had for her, gave that family, though very unjustly, a certain air of incest, which what I said just now in opposition to that, and which, to me seems convincing, could not take away. I have already hinted that the disposition in which I found Madam de Longueville, offered me an opportunity to prepare a defence for Paris, nearer at hand, more natural, and less odious than the help of Spain. Not but that I was acquainted with the weakness of the Prince of Conti, who indeed was yet but almost a

* See the Memoirs of the Dutchess de Nemours, daughter to the Duke de Longueville by his first wife, who was sister to the late Count de Soissons. That Lady, who in all liklihood was well informed of the matter, mentions the cause of the falling out between the Prince of Conde and his sister.

child.

child. But I knew at the same time, that that child was a Prince of the blood. I wanted nothing but a name to give life to a party, which without it had been but a mere shadow. I was pretty sure of the Duke de Longueville, who was the man in the world who loved best the beginning of an affair. I knew besides for certain that the Mareschal de la Mothe †, who was enraged at the court, would never separate himself from the Duke de Longueville, to whom he had been tied for twenty years together by a pension, which he even kept out of gratitude, after he was made Mareschal of France. I saw the Duke de Bouillon very full of discontent, and almost reduced to want, by the disorder in which his domestic affairs were, and by the injuries which he received from the court. I had had in my view all the persons I have named, but they had appeared to me only in a remote prospect, because not one of them was fit to open the scene. The Duke de Longueville was fit only for the second act: the Mareschal de la Mothe, a good soldier but otherwise a man of no parts, could never be chosen for the chief actor: the Duke de Bouillon was able to have acted the first part, but his sincerity was more doubtful than his talent, and besides I was well informed that his Lady †, who governed him intirely, took not the least step but as she was moved by Spain. So that you will not wonder that I had not before fixed these obscure and uncertain views, which now I could bring altogether and unite in the person of the Prince of Conti, who by his being a Prince of the blood, drew to him and reconciled what appeared most opposite. I had no sooner given the least hint to the Dutchess de Longueville of the figure which she might make in the party, at a time that all things tended to a rupture, but she came into the project with a transport of joy which I

* Philip de la Mothe Houdancourt, Duke of Cardona, &c. Mareschal of France. He had been kept prisoner for a long while, upon account of some ill success he had in Catalonia, of which he was Viceroy, and was but lately released out of prison.

† Leonora-Catherina Fabronie de Bergh, daughter to Frederick Count of Bergh, Governor of Friesland.

cannot

cannot expreſs. I took care to manage theſe diſpoſitions. I quickened the Duk de Longuevile, both by myſelf and by Varicarville, who was his priſoner, and in whom he was in the right to confide as he did, entirely. This made me reſolve upon having no correſpondence with Spain, but to ſtay till ſome occaſion, which I judged to be but too near, ſhould offer of itſelf, whereby our being forced to apply to that crown, ſhould appear to proceed from others rather than from me. That reſolution, though it was ſtrongly oppoſed by St. Ibal and Montreſor, was certainly the beſt, and the ſequel will ſhew you that I judged right in not being over haſty about making uſe of a remedy doubly dangerous, and which always needs proper lenitives before it is firſt applied. * - - -

for the time to come. Shall I tell you the whole truth? I perceived, as I thought, a poſſibility of winning the Lady: the ſtrict friendſhip I profeſt for the huſband was the only thing that weighed down with me what was ſuggeſted both by pleaſure and by policy*. - - -

pliſhed every way. I was much taken with her, but finding not the leaſt room to hope for any thing, that laſted not long, and I believe that I had ſpoken more properly if I had ſaid that I fancied that I was much taken with her.

After I had taken ſuch meaſures as I thought proper for our defence, it came into my head to oblige the court, if it was poſſible, not to carry things to an extremity. You will eaſily perceive how beneficial that deſign was, and you will find how poſſible it was to bring it to paſs, when I have acquainted you that its coming to nothing was only owing to the obſtinacy of the miniſter, who would not agree to a propoſal that had been ſuggeſted to me by Launai-Gravai, and which, even with the parliament's conſent, had ſupplied, at leaſt in a great meaſure, the funds which that company had retrenched. That propoſal, (the particulars of which would be too long and too tedious) was debated at Viole's, where Le Coigneux and many others of the parliament were preſent. It was approved of, and had the miniſter been wiſe enough to accept it heartily and ſincerely, I am perſuaded that it might have ſuſtained all neceſſary expences, and that there had been no civil war.

When I found that the miniſter would not accept what was even for his advantage, but after his own mode which was never good, I bent all my thoughts upon doing him what harm I could, and it was but from that moment that I took a full and firm reſolution to attack him perſonally. I came to that reſolution, becauſe finding that we could not hinder him from attacking us, I thought that it would be wiſe for us to attack him ourſelves, by ſome previous ſteps that would give among the public an ill turn to his attack.

It may be ſaid with very good ground that that miniſter's enemies had againſt him an advantage very ſingular and hardly to be met with againſt perſons in his poſt. The power of which they are maſters, preſerves them commonly from any tincture of ridicule. But ridicule was prevalent in the Cardinal, becauſe he ſaid

fooliſh

foolish things, which is not common even to those that act foolishly in the like posts. Marigni * came at that time very opportunely from Sweeden, and having given himself in some sort to me, I let him loose upon him. The Cardinal had asked Bouqueval, a deputy of the Great Council, if he should not think himself obliged to obey the King, in case he should forbid him to wear his band without bandstrings? That comparison, you see, was silly enough to prove a blind obedience, to deputies of sovereign courts. Marigni paraphrased that saying both in prose and verse, for a month or five weeks before the King left Paris, and the effect that paraphrase had can hardly be conceived. I took hold of that instant to make that ridicule appear detestable, which makes the most dangerous sort of compound and the hardest to be remedied.

You have already seen that the court had undertaken to authorize the loans by their declaration, that is, that they had, properly speaking, undertaken to authorize usury by a law verified in parliament, because no money was lent to the King (for example on the Tallies) but upon an exorbitant usury. My dignity obliged me not to suffer so scandalous, so general, and so public an evil, and I discharged my duty as to that very exactly and very fully. I called an assembly of the most notable among the curates, the canons, the doctors of Sorbonne, and the regulars; and without so much as mentioning the name of the Cardinal in all our conferences, (where on the contrary I seemed to take a special care to spare him) I made him pass in a week's time for the most extorting Jew that was in Europe. The King removed from Paris just at that time, and I had notice given me of it at five in the morning by the Queen's Steward, who caused me to be waked, and who gave me a letter under the Queen's own hand, wherein she commanded me in very civil terms to be at St. Germain's within that day. The Steward added by word of mouth that the King was

* James Carpentier, alias Marigni, was of Nevers, and became famous at that time for his lampoons.

that

that moment got into his coach, and that the whole army was ordered to advance. My answer to the Queen was, that I would not fail to obey, which you may be sure I did not intend to do.

Presently after this, Blancmesnil came into my chamber as pale as death. He told me that the King was marching to the parliament with eight thousand horse. I assured him that he had left the town, and had no more than two hundred horse with him. This is one of the least of all the impertinencies which I heard, from five in the morning till ten. I never was during that while without a procession of scared people that thought themselves undone. But they afforded me more diversion than uneasiness, because I had every moment notice given me of what past, by officers of my own. I learned that the people, at their first hearing of the King's removal, were seized with rage, to which fear never succeeds but by degrees, and which I thought I might prevent before it was night. For though the Prince of Condé, who mistrusted his brother the Prince of Conti, had got him to rise and to go along with him to St. Germains, I made no doubt but that he would quickly come back, because the Dutchess de Longueville was left at Paris, and because I knew that the Prince of Condé, who neither esteemed nor feared his brother, would not carry his mistrust so far as to arrest him. I had besides received the day before a letter from the Duke de Longueville, dated at Rouën, wherein he assured me that he would be in Paris the evening of the same day on which the King left the town.

The King was no sooner gone, but the citizens of their own accord and without any orders seized on the gate of St. Honoré; and as soon as the Queen's Steward had left me, I sent Brigalier word to make himself master with his company of that of the conference. The parliament assembled at the same time in a tumultuous manner, caused by their consternation; and I do not know what they might not have done, considering the fright they were in, if means had not been found to make use of their own fears to encourage them.

them. It is what I have observed a thousand times: there are some sorts of fears that cannot be overcome but by greater fears. I desired Vedeau, a counsellor whom I sent for, to inform the company that there was at the town-house a letter from the King, whereby he acquainted the Prevost-des-Marchands, and the Echevins, with the reasons that had obliged him to remove from his good city of Paris, the substance of which reasons were, that some members of his parliament, held intelligence with the enemies of the kingdom, and that those persons had even conspired to make sure of his person. The hearing of this, and the knowledge they had that the President le Feron, who was Prevost-des-Marchands, was altogether a dependant of the court, inflamed the whole company so far as to send that very moment for the letter. They immediately gave out an arrest for the citizens to take up arms; for the city gates to be guarded; for the Prevost-des-Marchands and the civil Judges to provide about keeping a passage for provisions to come in; and for their meeting the next day to deliberate upon the King's letter. You may perceive by this interlocutory order, that the parliament's fright was not yet quite over, but I was not troubled at their irresolution, because I knew very well that in a little time I should have wherewithal to support and invigorate them.

Being persuaded that the first step of disobedience, made at least publicly, should in prudence proceed from the parliament, that particular persons might thereby be screened, I thought it necessary to find out a colour for my want of respect to the Queen in not going to St. Germains. I ordered my coach to be got ready; I took my leave of all my friends; I shewed a wonderful firmness in rejecting all the instances whereby they would have obliged me to stay; *and by an* * *accident that seemed to be an effect of chance*, I met at the end of Nôtre-Dame Street, Du Buisson, a wood merchant, whose credit was very great among the bridge people. That man was altogether at my disposal, but he ap-

* The French says, *And by a remarkable piece of good fortune.* But the whole paragraph shews that it was a concerted thing.

peared at that time to be very angry. He beat my poſtillion and ſpoke menacing words to my coachman. A multitude of people came to his aid. They threw down my coach; and the women of the New-market crying and roaring, made uſe of a ſtall to bring me home upon. You gueſs I dare ſay in what manner this proof of my obedience was received at court. I wrote letters to the Queen and to the Prince of Condé, that expreſſed my grief for ſucceeding ſo ill in the attempt I had made. The Queen received my letter, which I ſent by the Chevalier de Levigné with haughtineſs and ſcorn. As for the Prince of Condé, he could not refrain ſhewing his anger, at the time that he pitied me. La Riviere expreſſed his zeal againſt me by his railleries; and the Chevalier de Levigné could clearly ſee that they were all of them perſuaded that they ſhould have us the next day with a halter about our necks. I was not much troubled upon that account, but I was extreamly vexed when I heard that very day, that the Duke de Longueville, coming from Roüen, where he had been for ten or twelve days, and hearing upon the road that the King had left Paris, inſtead of coming thither himſelf as he had promiſed, was gone to St. Germains to the King. That ſtep of his perſuaded the Dutcheſs his wife, that the Prince of Condé had brought him over to his ſide, and that conſequently the Prince of Conti muſt be under an arreſt. Upon the hearing of this, the Mareſchal de la Mothe declared to her in my preſence, that he would do without exception whatever the Duke de Longueville did, either for or againſt the court. The Duke de Bouillon taxed me for the ill conduct of all theſe perſons, who (as I had aſſured him a thouſand times) were to have acted quite contrary to what they now did. I leave you to judge of the trouble I was in, which was ſtill the greater, becauſe Madam de Longueville was all this while telling me that ſhe had had all that day no manner of news from Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, who went for St. Germains two hours after the King, with an intent to fortify the Prince of Conti and to bring him back to Paris. St. Ibal preſſed me again at that time

to

to send him without any longer delay to the Count de Fuensaldagne. But I could not agree with him in that point, and I chose rather to send the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who had for some time joined himself to me, to St. Germains, to learn by his means what might be expected from the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville. Madam de Longueville approved of it, and Noirmoutier went that same day about six in the evening.

The next day, which was the seventh of January, La Sourdiere, Lieutenant of the Life-guards, came to the parliament in the morning, and gave the King's Council a *lettre-de-cachet* directed to them, whereby they were ordered to declare to the company, that the King's command was that they should remove to Montargis * and there expect his orders. La Sourdiere brought likewise a pacquet sealed up for the parliament, and a letter for the first President. As it was an easy matter to guess, by what the King's Council were directed to declare, what the contents of the other letters were, it was thought more respectful not to open them, because the parliament resolved before hand not to obey. The pacquet and the letter were therefore delivered back unopened to La Sourdiere, and the parliament resolved to send the King's Council to St. Germain's, to assure the Queen of their obedience, and to supplicate her Majesty that they might be permitted to clear themselves of the calumny, which had occasioned the letter writ the day before to the Prevost-des-Marchands. But to preserve a little the dignity of the company, they likewise resolved that the Queen should be most humbly supplicated to let them know who the calumniators were, that they might be proceeded against according to the rigour of the ordinances. The truth is, that it was with much pain that this last clause was added, the whole company being in such a consternation, that when Brousel, Charton, Viole, Loisel, Amelot, and five more, whose names I do not remember, proposed to ask in due form for

* A town in the Gastinois, a small country adjoining to the province of Beausse.

the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, they were followed by no others, and were even treated as hot and passionate men. You must observe that in that juncture there was no other appearance of safety for the company than by acting vigorously, and I never saw a time in which they acted with so much weakness. I had run up and down all the night long, and could obtain no more than the clause which I have mentioned.

The Chamber of Accounts received the same day a *lettre-de-cachet*, that ordered that company to remove to Orleans; and the Grand Council, one to remove to Mantes. The Chamber of Accounts made haste to send remonstrances. The Grand Council offered to obey, but the city refused them passes. You may easily conceive in what condition I was all the day long, and I may truly say that I had never before past a day that had appeared so terrible, though I have met with others since, worse than that. I saw the parliament upon the point of yielding, and I found myself consequently necessitated either to undergo, along with it, the most shameful yoke, and even the most perilous, as to my own particular; or to set up myself singly and purely for a tribune of the people, which is the most unsafe and even the lowest part that can be chosen, whenever a sufficient force does not support it.

The weakness which the Prince of Conti had shewed, by suffering himself to be led away like a child by the Prince his brother; that of the Duke de Longueville, who instead of coming to Paris to hearten those he had engaged with, was gone to offer his services to the Queen; and the declaration that the Duke de Bouillon and the Mareschal de la Mothe had made, were strokes that had much enfeebled my pretended office of tribune. But Cardinal Mazarin's imprudence gave it a new strength. He caused the Queen to refuse to give audience to the King's council, who came back to Paris that same evening, fully convinced that the court's intent was to carry matters to extreams.

I spent the whole night in seeing my friends. I shewed them my informations from St. Germains, which were that the Prince of Condé had assured the Queen

Queen that he would take Paris in fifteen days time; and that Mr. le Tellier, who had been the King's Attorney at the Châtelet*, and who for that reaſon ought to be well acquainted with the matter, offered to paſs his word that the want of proviſions for two market days only would ſuffice to famiſh the town. By theſe means, I brought every body to believe that there was no room left for an accommodation, which was in reality but too true.

The King's council reported the next morning to the parliament how they were refuſed an audience. It was then that every body grew in ſome ſort deſperate, and that they gave with a general conſent, (except that of Bernai, who was a better cook than a counſellor) that famous arreſt of the eighth of January, whereby Cardinal Mazarin was declared an enemy to the King and to the ſtate, and a diſturber of the public peace, and whereby all the King's ſubjects were enjoined to fall upon and ſeize him.

A general aſſembly at the Town-houſe was held in the afternoon by the deputies of the parliament, and by thoſe of the Chamber of Accounts, and of the Court of Aids; together with the Duke de Montbazon, Governor of Paris, the Prevoſt-des-Marchands, with the Echevins, and the ſix corporations of merchants. It was there agreed that the Prevoſt-des-Marchands and the Echevins, ſhould give out commiſſions for the raiſing four thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot. The ſame day the Chamber of Accounts, and the Court of Aids, ſent deputies to pray the Queen to bring the King back to Paris: the city ſent likewiſe deputies to the ſame effect. But they being ſtill perſuaded at court that the parliament would yield, becauſe they had heard nothing yet of their laſt arreſt, the Queen received the deputies with much haughtineſs; and the Prince of Condé, in her preſence, expreſſed even a mighty paſſion againſt the parliament, in what he ſaid

* A place where is held a court of judicature called the Preſidial, where affairs of ſmall moment are determined without appeal. What is called the Little Chatelet is a ſtrong place to keep priſoners in.

to Amelot, firſt Preſident of the Court of Aids. The Queen's anſwer to theſe deputies was, that neither the King nor ſhe would ever go back to Paris till the parliament was gone from thence.

The next day, which was the ninth of January, the city received a letter from the King, commanding the magiſtrates to cauſe the parliament to obey, and to remove to Montargis. Mr. de Montbazon, accompanied by Fournier, who was firſt Echevin, and by four counſellors of the Town-houſe, brought the letter to the parliament, proteſting at the ſame time, that they would receive no orders but from that company, who made that morning the neceſſary fund for raiſing the troops. In the afternoon another general aſſembly was held, in which the ſeveral corporations of the city, with all the Colonels and Captains of the ſeveral wards, took an oath of union for the common defence. I leave you to judge how well ſatisfied I was with this ſtate of things, which left me no more room to fear that I ſhould be abandoned. You will ſtill be more convinced of it, when I have told you that the Marquis de Noirmoutier gave me notice the next day after his arrival at St. Germains, and aſſured me, that the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville were extremely well inclined, and had come before now to Paris, had they not thought to have made their retreat from court the ſafer by making their appearance there during ſome days. Mr. de la Rochefoucaut wrote to the ſame effect to Madam de Longueville.

You muſt now without doubt think this affair in a mighty good way. However, you will be forced to own that the ſame ill ſtar that has thrown rubs in all the ways through which I have paſſed, was pleaſed at this time, when every thing ſeemed to run ſo ſmooth, to raiſe againſt me one of the greateſt obſtacles and troubles I ever met with.

The afternoon of this ſame day, which was the ninth of January, the Duke de Briſac, who had married my couſin *, but with whom I had but very little commerce, came to my houſe, and ſaid to me with a ſmile:

* Mademoiſelle de Retz, the Cardinal's former miſtreſs.

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We are of the same party; I am come to serve the parliament. I thought, when I heard this, that the Duke de Longueville, who was a near relation of his wife's, might have engaged him; and to be the better informed, I sounded him about it, but without opening myself in the least. I found that he knew nothing either of the Duke de Longueville's or of the Prince of Conti's designs. The occasion of his coming was his being ill satisfied with Cardinal Mazarin, and still worse satisfied with the Marschal de la Meilleraie, his brother-in-law *. His design therefore was, to seek for some advantage in a party where he thought that his being allied to me might be of some use to him. After half a quarter of an hour's conversation, looking out at a window and seeing my coach getting ready: O Lord! said he, do not go out; Mr. d'Elbeuf † will be here in a moment. What to do? replied I; is he not at St. Germains? He was there (said he gravely) but finding nobody that would give him a dinner, he is come to seek for a supper here. He swore to me above ten times, from the Pont-de-Neiully, where I met him, to the Croix-du-tiroir, where I left him, that he would act in a much better manner than his cousin the Duke de Mayenne did in the time of the league. I leave you to judge what trouble this put me into. I durst not discover to any body that I expected the Prince of Conti, and the Duke de Longueville, for fear that that might occasion their being arrested at St. Germains. I saw a Prince of the House of Lorrain (a name ever pleasing to those of Paris) ready to declare himself, and consequently ready to be declared General of our forces, that were without one, and that wanted one extremely. I knew that the Mareschal de la Mothe, who always mistrusted that uncertainty so natural to the Duke de Longueville, would not take one step till he had seen him; and it was plain to me that the Duke d'Elbeuf's presence, which in regard to his probity must necessarily fill with suspicion every

* The Mareschal de la Meilleraie had married the Duke de Brisac's sister.

† Charles of Lorrain, second of the name, Duke d'Elbeuf.

one that knew that gentleman, would but confirm the Duke de Bouillon in the reasons he had to do nothing till the Prince of Conti came. I saw no remedy near at hand. The Prevost-des-Marchands was, at the bottom, altogether for the court, and that I knew for certain. The first President was not tied to the court so much like a slave as the other was, but I knew however that he inclined that way. Supposing besides, that I could have relied never so much upon them, what good could I expect from them at a time when the incensed people wanted nothing but an object to take hold of and stick close to; and when they would have treated as liars and traitors those that had spoke against Mr. d'Elbeuf, at least in public; though that Prince had inherited from his predecessors nothing considerable but their affability of manners, which in this juncture was just what I had most to dread. To compleat all, I could not be positive that the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville would come so soon as they had promised. I had wrote the day before by a kind of misgiving, to this last, that I begged of him to consider how precious every instant was, and how dangerous the least delay, though ever so well grounded, was, at the beginning of all great affairs. But I was well acquainted with his irresolution. Besides, supposing that they both had come now never so soon, they had not come till after a man the most artful in the world, who would not fail to give their coming a colour, able to throw distrust in the people's minds, which it was easy enough to do, considering that one was the Prince of Condé's brother, and the other his brother-in-law. I had, it is true, for my comfort, perhaps two instants, or at most a quarter of an hour, to take my resolution. That time was not yet expired, when Mr. d'Elbeuf came to me, and made use in what he said of all that the cajoling manners of the House of Guise could suggest to him. I saw his three children at his back, who spoke not altogether with so much eloquence as the father, but who seemed to me to have well learnt their lesson. I returned their civlility by a great shew of respect, and by making use

of

of all the ways that might beſt cover my game. Mr. d'Elbeuf acquainted me, that he was that moment going to the Town-houſe, to offer his ſervices. I repreſented to him, that, in my opinion, he would oblige the parliament more by addreſſing himſelf firſt to them the next day in a full aſſembly of the chambers. But he ſtuck cloſe to his firſt reſolution, though he had aſſured me but one moment before, that he would be guided by me in all things.

He was no ſooner gone than I wrote word to Fournier, the firſt Echevin and my friend, to engage the Town-houſe to adviſe Mr. d'Elbeuf to addreſs himſelf firſt to the parliament. I wrote likewiſe to the *Curates** that I moſt relied upon, to make uſe of the prieſts who officiated under them, to ſow diſtruſt among the people, upon account of the union that had appeared betwixt Mr. d'Elbeuf and the Abbot de la Riviere. I ran up and down a-foot, and in diſguiſe, all the night long, to repreſent to thoſe of the parliament, to whom I durſt not open myſelf about the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville, that they ought not to truſt themſelves in the hands of a man ſo much cried down as Mr. d'Elbeuf was, in relation to his probity, and who had already given a ſhrewd ſign of his inclinations towards their company, by addreſſing himſelf firſt to the Town-houſe, no doubt with a view of dividing them from the parliament. You have ſeen how I had adviſed Mr. d'Elbeuf to addreſs himſelf firſt to the parliament, which I had done with a deſign only to gain time. But finding that he rejected that advice, I now made uſe of the ſteps he took to incenſe againſt him thoſe to whom I ſpoke, which I did with ſome ſucceſs. But my time was too ſhort to ſee many people. Beſides I obſerved among thoſe I ſaw, that though I could work upon their underſtandings, it was not ſo eaſy for me to do ſo upon their hearts, becauſe of the preſſing neceſſity there was of a general to command the forces. In ſhort, I muſt own that I was much perplexed, and

* The word *Curate* in French, ſignifies the parſon of a pariſh, who has the cure of ſouls.

so much the more because I was well informed, that Mr. d'Elbeuf neglected nothing that was for his interest. The President le Coigneux, who had been on very ill terms with him whilst they were both with the Duke of Orleans at Brussels, but whom Mr. d'Elbeuf thought now his good friend, shewed me a letter from him, which he had wrote some moments before he came to my house, wherein I read these words: *I must go to the Coadjutor to do him homage; in three days time he must do the like to me:* the letter was signed, *The bosom Friend.* But I had no need of this proof to be convinced that he did not love me. There had been formerly a misunderstanding between us, and I had desired him a little roughly to hold his tongue at a ball at Madam de Perroche's, because it seemed to me as if he designed to put a jest upon the Count de Soissons, whom he hated much, because they were at that time both in love with Madam de Montbazon.

After I had run up and down the town till two in the morning, I came home, almost resolved upon declaring myself publicly against Mr. d'Elbeuf; upon accusing him of holding intelligence with the court; and by getting the people to take up arms, either upon securing him, or obliging him to leave Paris. I knew that my credit with the people was great enough to undertake this with a probability of success: but it must be owned that it would have been carrying things to a great extremity, by reason of an infinite number of circumstances, but chiefly because the commotion that this must occasion, which could not be little in a town that was invested, and invested by a King.

As I was revolving all these different thoughts in my mind, which you may think was in no little agitation, a servant told me, that the Chevalier de la Chaize, belonging to Mr. de Longueville, was at my chamber door. As he came in he said aloud to me; 'Rise, 'Sir, the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longue-'ville are at the gate of St. Honoré, and the mob re-'fuses to suffer them to come in, bawling out, that 'they come with an intent to betray the city.' I made haste to rise, and as I went along, I took old Brousel with

with me, and being lighted by eight or ten flambeaux, we came to the place. The ſtreet was already ſo full of people, that we could hardly get through, and it was broad day-light before we could cauſe the gate to be opened, becauſe of the miſtruſt they were in, which can hardly be expreſſed; ſo that much time was ſpent before we could remove their fears. But our haranguing them did it at laſt, and ſo we brought the Prince of Conti and Mr. de Longueville to the Hôtel de Longueville.

I went to Mr. d'Elbeuf preſently after, with a deſign of making him a compliment, which certainly would not have been pleaſing to him; for it was to propoſe to him not to go to the parliament, or at leaſt not to go thither but with the Prince and the Duke, and not till after having concerted with them what was beſt to be done for the good of the party. The general diſtruſt which the people preſerved for any thing that had the leaſt relation to the Prince of Condé, obliged us to manage theſe firſt moments with a great deal of gentleneſs. What perhaps had been eaſy the day before, had been impoſſible and even pernicious the next morning, and the name of the houſe of Condé was ſo terrible, that that ſame Mr. d'Elbeuf, whom I thought myſelf able to drive out of Paris on the ninth, had in all likelihood made me quit that town on the tenth, had he followed the right courſe. But as ſoon as I ſaw him miſs the moment which we took hold of to get the Prince of Conti into the town, I made no doubt (knowing that the people were for us in the bottom) but that I might lead them in a little time wherever I pleaſed; but that little time was however requiſite. My advice therefore was (and there was no other good one) to keep fair with Mr. d'Elbeuf, and to let him ſee that he might find it worth his while to unite with the Prince de Conti and with the Duke de Longueville. What makes me believe that that propoſal had not been pleaſing to him, as I was juſt now ſaying, is, that inſtead of ſtaying for me, as I had ſent to deſire him, he went to the parliament. The firſt Preſident, who was againſt the parliament's being removed to Montargis, but who

likewiſe was againſt a civil war, received Mr. d'Elbeuf with open arms. He haſtened the Aſſembly of the Chambers, and notwithſtanding what Brouſſel, Longue Blancmeſnil, Viole, Novin, and le Coigneux, could ſay, he got Mr. d'Elbeuf declared General, with an intent, as the Preſident de Meſmes, who pretended to have been the firſt adviſer of this, has ſince owned to me, of creating a diviſion in the party, tho' not great enough in his opinion for hindering the court from coming to to a better temper, yet able to weaken the faction, and to make it the leſs dangerous and the leſs laſting. That project has ever ſeemed to me to be one of thoſe notions very fine in ſpeculation, but impoſſible to be put into practice; miſtakes in theſe caſes being beſides always very dangerous.

Not meeting with Mr. d'Elbeuf at home, and hearing from thoſe whom I had charged to watch his motions, that he was gone to the parliament, whereupon the Aſſemblies of the Chambers had been haſtened, it was eaſy for me to gueſs at the reſt. This made me come back with all diligence to the Hoſtel de Longueville, to oblige the Prince and the Duke to go likewiſe immediately to the parliament. The Duke was never in haſte, and the Prince being fatigued with the ill night he had paſſed, was now in bed. It was with the greateſt pain in the world that I could perſuade him to riſe; and finding himſelf ill, as he really was, he ſpent ſo much time about it, that before he had done we had notice ſent us of the parliament's being up, and of Mr. d'Elbeuf's being gone to the Town-houſe to take the uſual oaths there, and likewiſe to take care of the diſtribution of the commiſſions that were to be given out. You may eaſily conceive how uneaſy this made us. Our uneaſineſs had however been ſtill greater, if, by miſſing his firſt opportunity, Mr. d'Elbeuf had not left me room to hope, that he would not make a right uſe, even of the ſecond. Fearing however that the ſucceſs he had had that morning might ſerve to encourage him, I was of opinion, that we ought not to give him too much time to look about him, and that made me propoſe to the Prince of Conti to go to the parliament

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in the afternoon, to make there an offer of his person, but to do it in such terms as might be explained either more or less favourably as he should feel the pulses to beat in the Grand Chamber, but still more as I should feel them myself to beat in the Court-hall, where, under pretence of my having as yet no seat in the parliament, I intended to stay to have an eye to the people.

The Prince of Conti came in my coach, without any men in livery but my own, which were many, and consequently made us to be seen and observed a great way off. This was pretty necessary on this occasion, and hindered not at the same time the Prince of Conti from shewing the citizens the trust he reposed in them, which was no less necessary. *There is nothing wherein caution is more requisite, than in what regards the people, because nothing is more unruly: but that caution is no where to be hid with so much care, because nothing is so distrustful.* We came to the parliament before Mr. d'Elbeuf; they cried upon the stairs as we went up to the hall, *Long live the Coadjutor*; but nobody cried, *Long live the Prince of Conti*, except those whom I had posted there for that purpose. By that, and by the world of people Paris is able to furnish in occasions of this nature, it was easy for me to perceive, that the people, amongst whom I had many of my side, were not generally well cured of their distrust; and I must own, that I was very glad when I had got the Prince from the Court-hall safe into the Great Chamber.

Mr. d'Elbeuf came one moment after, followed by all the town-guards, who had accompanied him since morning as their General. The mob on all parts cried aloud, *Long live his Highness the Duke d'Elbeuf*; and they crying at the same time, *Long live the Coadjutor*; I advanced towards him, and with a mighty gay countenance, I said, *This echo, Sir, resounds high in my honour:* to which he answered, *You are too civil*; upon which, turning himself to the guards, he bid them wait at the door of the Grand Chamber. I took that order to be likewise for myself, and there I waited with those whom I might best rely on, who were a good number. Every one being seated in the parliament

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the Prince of Conti ſpoke to them, and ſaid, ‘ That ‘ having taken notice at St. Germains of the perni- ‘ cious councils given to the Queen, he thought him- ‘ ſelf obliged, by his being a Prince of the Blood, to ‘ oppoſe them:’ you may gueſs at what he added to that. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who like all weak men when they think themſelves the moſt powerful, was proud and haughty, ſaid, ‘ That he knew the reſpect he owed ‘ the Prince of Conti, but that he could not forbear ‘ ſaying, that it was he that had broke the ice, and had ‘ firſt offered his ſervices to the company; and that ‘ the company having done him the honour to intruſt ‘ into his hands the General's ſtaff, he would not quit ‘ it but with his life.’ The generality of the parlia- ment, who like the people entertained a diſtruſt againſt the Prince of Conti, applauded that declaration, which Mr. d'Elbeuf failed not to ſet off with all the para- phraſes ſo natural to his ſtile. Toucheprez, Captain of his guards, a man of ſenſe and courage, enlarged upon it in the Court-hall. The parliament roſe after having given an arreſt, enjoining the King's forces not to approach Paris within twenty leagues, upon the ſame penalty as in caſes of high treaſon, ſo I found that I muſt content myſelf for this day with bringing the Prince of Conti ſafe back to the Hôtel de Longueville. The crowd was great, and I was almoſt obliged to take him up in my arms at his coming out of the Grand- chamber. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who thought himſelf now maſter of all, ſaid to me in a bantering manner, hear- ing the people in their huzzas mix ſometimes his name with mine; *This echo, Sir, reſounds high in my honour:* to which I replied, *You are too civil*; but with an air more gay than that he ſpoke in; for tho' he thought his affairs in a very good way, I immediately judged, when I perceived that he had again miſſed this ſecond opportunity, that mine would quickly be upon a better foot than his. *Credit among the people, when it has been long nurſed up and cultivated, never fails, if once it has taken any root, to ſtifle thoſe ſlight and weak demonſtra- tions of public love, which ſometimes a meer chance will produce.*

produce. You will see that in this I judged altogether right.

At our coming back to the Hôtel de Longueville, I found Vincerot, a captain in the regiment of Navarre, who had been bred up a page to the Marquis de Ragni, father to Madam de Lesdiguieres. That Lady sent him to me from St. Germains, where she then was, under pretence of demanding some prisoners, but in reality to give me notice, that Mr. d'Elbeuf, an hour after the Prince of Conti's and the Duke de Longueville's arrival at Paris, had wrote to la Riviere these very words: 'Tell the Queen and the Duke of 'Orleans, that that devil of a Coadjutor ruins all here, 'and that in two days time my credit will be at an 'end: but that if they are willing to offer me advan-'tageous terms, I shall convince them that I am not 'come to Paris with so ill an intent as they imagine.' La Riviere shewed this to the Cardinal, who laughed at it, and gave it the Mareschal de Villeroi to read. I made an admirable use of this information, and knowing that all that has an air of mystery works more effectually upon the people, I whispered this as a secret to four or five hundred persons. About nine at night the Curates of St. Eustache, of St. Roch, of St. Merri, and of St. John's, sent me word, that the trust which the Prince of Conti had placed in the people, in going along with me in my coach, without any attendants of his own, and in exposing his person in the hands even of those that exclaimed most against him, had had an excellent effect. I likewise received about ten above fifty informations from the officers of the several wards, acquainting me with the success that they had had, whereby the disposition of the people was sensibly and visibly altered. I set Marigni to work betwixt ten and eleven, when he made that famous song, the original of all Triolets*, upon Mr. d'Elbeuf and his children,

* A song of five verses, the first of which is repeated after the third, and the first and second are repeated after the fifth. Marigni revived them at that time, and they were equally made use of by both parties, to ridicule one another. I have not met with that

which you have heard Caumartin ſing ſo many times. We went betwixt twelve and one, Mr. de Longueville, the Mareſcall de la Mothe, and myſelf, to Mr. de Bouillon, whom we found in bed ill of the gout*, and full of difficulties about declaring himſelf, by reaſon of the uncertainty in which things were. We ſhewed him our plan, and how eaſy it was to execute it. He took the matter right, he joined with us, and we concerted meaſures together. I myſelf gave to the Colonels and Captains that were my friends, their ſeveral orders. You will better conceive our project when I ſhall mention its execution, which I will enlarge upon after I have made this further remark, that the moſt dangerous puſh which I gave Mr. d'Elbeuf in all theſe motions, was making the people believe, by means of the pariſh prieſts, who believed it themſelves, that he held intelligence with the King's forces, who the ninth in the evening had made themſelves maſters of the poſt of Charenton*. He met me upon the ſtairs going to the Town-houſe, juſt at the time that this rumour was ſpreading about; and ſpeaking to me; 'Can you believe ſaid he, that there are people wicked enough 'to publiſh, that it is by my directions that Charenton 'has been taken?' 'And can you believe (replied I) 'that there are villains great enough to ſay, that the 'Prince of Conti is come hither in concert with the 'Prince of Condé his brother?' I come now to the execution of our project.

that upon Mr. d'Elbeuf, which is mentioned here, but remembering one made at that time upon Mr. de Bouillon, it will perhaps oblige ſome of the readers to have it inſerted here.

* Upon Mr. de Bouillon.

Le brave Monſieur de Bouillon,
Eſt fort travaille de la goute;
Il eſt vaillant comme une lion,
Le brave Monſieur de Bouillon;
Mais s'il faut rompre un bataillon
Et mettre une armee en deroute,
Le brave Monſieur de Bouillon,
Eſt fort travaille de la goute.

† A village near Paris, where the Proteſtants had a church allowed them.

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Finding the minds of the people well enough disposed, and well enough cured of their distrust, not to espouse Mr. d'Elbeuf's interest, I thought that there was no more need of so much caution, and that a great show would be as requisite this day, as modesty was the day before.

The Prince of Conti and Mr. de Longueville made use of a large and magnificent coach belonging to the Dutchess of Longueville, and were followed by a great number of attendants. I was seated by the Prince at one of the boots of the coach, and we marched along slowly to the parliament. Mr. de Longueville went not thither the day before, because I thought, that in case of a commotion, a greater respect would be shewn to the tender years of the Prince of Conti, and to his being Prince of the Blood, than to the person of Mr. de Longueville, whom Mr. d'Elbeuf stood most in fear of. Besides, Mr. de Longueville not being a Peer, had no seat in parliament, and it was necessary to agree first what seat he should have, which was given him above that of the eldest Counsellor, on the other side of the Dukes and Peers. He began his speech by offering his services to the company, with the cities of Roüen, Caën, and Dieppe, and with the whole province of Normandy; and for surety of his promise, he desired that the company would approve of the Dutchess his wife, with his son and daughters, taking their lodgings at the Town-house. You may easily judge of the good effect this proposal had. It received still a greater strength and a greater approbation by the arrival of the Duke de Bouillon, who came in supported (because of his gout) by two gentlemen. He seated himself below the Duke de Longueville, and, as we had agreed upon in the night, he insinuated in the speech he made, that he would readily serve the parliament under the command of so great a Prince as the Prince of Conti was. Mr. d'Elbeuf was fired at this word, and he repeated what he had said the day before, that he would not quit, but with his life, the staff of General in chief. A murmuring arose upon this, and Mr. d'Elbeuf shewed in the contest that his wit was

greater

greater than his judgment. He said nothing to the purpose. It was now no longer time for him to contest: there was a necessity of yielding: but I have observed, *That weak men never yield at the time they ought to do it.* We then gave him the third stroke by the Mareschal de la Mothe's appearing at that instant, who seated himself below Mr. de Bouillon, and who made the company the same compliment that the other had done. We had concerted together not to let these several actors appear at once upon the stage, but that they should come in one after another, because we had considered, that *nothing touches and moves the common people, and even companies who hold a near resemblance to them, so much as a variety of spectacles.* We were not mistaken in this, and these three scenes that followed one another, had an effect beyond comparison, quicker and greater than if they had been united in one. Mr. de Bouillon, who had before been of another opinion, was now convinced that we were in the right, and he owned it to me before we left the parliament.

The first President, who was a man all of a piece, persisted in his opinion, which was to make use of this contest for weakening the faction: so he proposed leaving the matter undecided till the afternoon, that there might be time for an accommodation. The President de Mesmes, who was at least as well inclined for the court as he, but who was a man of a greater reach and of larger views, whispered him in the ear, and said (but not so low but that I heard him), 'Are you in jest, 'Sir, or do not you consider, that they possibly might 'agree at our cost? But they are farther off of an 'agreement than you think. Do not you perceive 'that Mr. d'Elbeuf is made a fool of, and that the 'others are masters?' The President le Coigneux, whom I had opened myself to the night before, raised his voice and said, 'We must make an end before 'dinner, were we not to dine till midnight: let us 'speak in private to these gentlemen.' He desired at the same time the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville to step into the fourth Chamber of Inquests, which one goes into directly from the Grand-chamber;

chamber; and the Presidents de Novion and de Bellievre, who kept intelligence with us, carried Mr. d'Elbeuf, who appeared still mighty angry, into the second Chamber of Inquests. Finding affairs under a compromise, and no likelihood of any danger in the Court-hall, I went away with all the haste I could to fetch Madam de Longueville and Madam de Bouillon, with their children, and I brought them with me to the Town-house in a kind of triumph. The small-pox, as I have said before, had left Madam de Longueville all her lustre, though it had taken away some of her beauty. That of Madam de Bouillon, though a little obscured, was still extremely shining. Let your fancy represent to you these two ladies upon the steps of the Town-house, appearing with a better air, because they seemed but carelesly dressed, though indeed they were not so. They each of them held one of their children in their arms, lovely as the mothers were. The Place de Greve was full of people to the very top of the houses, and whilst the women were shedding tears out of tenderness, the men were expressing their joy by their loud acclamations. I flung five hundred pistoles from the Town-house windows, and having left Noirmoutier and Miron with the ladies, I went back to the parliament, and I arrived there with an innumerable croud of people, both armed and unarmed.

Touchepreze, Captain of Mr. d'Elbeuf's guards, who had sent people to observe me, was gone a little before I came back, to give notice to his master, who had staid all this while in the second Chamber of Inquests, that he was a lost man, if he did not come to an accommodation. This was the cause that I found him extremely troubled, and even dejected. But he was much more so when the President de Bellievre, who had amused him designedly all this while, asked what was the meaning of the drums beating? For I answered him, that he would quickly hear another sort of noise, and that all honest men were weary of the division that was attempted to be made in the city. I was convinced at that instant that in great affairs the

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head signifies nothing without the heart. Mr. d'Elbeuf ceased to keep even any outward appearances. He explained ridiculously all that he had said; he yielded to more than was required of him; and nothing but Mr. de Bouillon's good sense and good manners preserved him, jointly with Mr. de Bouillon himself, and with the Mareschal de la Mothe, the rank of General; all three being to serve as such under the Prince of Conti, who at that instant was declared Generalissimo of the King's forces, under the orders of the parliament

This is what passed the 11th of January in the forenoon; Mr. d'Elbeuf in the afternoon summoned the Bastille, that commission being given him as a kind of sweetning; and at night a scene passed at the Town-house, which it is necessary to give you an account of, because it was followed by much greater consequences than it deserved. Noirmoutier, who the day before was made Lieutenant-general, went out of Paris with five hundred horse to drive back the skirmishers of the troops, which, among us, we called Mazarinians, who came to our very suburbs. As he came back he alighted off his horse at the Town-house, and came with his armour on, and with him Matha, Laiguis, and la Boulaie, into Madam de Longueville's chamber, which was full of Ladies. This mixture of blue scarves, of ladies, of men with armour on, of fidlers that were in the hall, and of trumpets that were without, made up a spectacle which is oftener seen in romances than any where else. Noirmoutier, who was a great admirer of Astrea*, said to me, I fancy us all now besieged in Marcilly. You are in the right, replied I; and Madam de Longueville may very well be compared to Galathea; but la Rochefoucaut [he was at that time called Prince de Marsillac, the Duke de la Rochefoucaut his father being still living] is not so gallant a man as Lindamore was. Turning back at these words I perceived little Courtin at a window by

* A romance writ by the Marquis d'Urfe, and one of the best of the kind.

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us, and near enough to over-hear me. I never could learn positively whether he did so or no, but I could never ascribe to any other cause the first hatred which Mr. de la Rochefoucaut bore to me.

I know that you love characters, and I am sorry for that reason that I have been able hitherto to give you none but indirectly, and by consequence but imperfectly. I thought that I had not room enough to represent my chief actors, in the porch, from whence you are but just come out, and where you have seen but light sketches of the preludes of the civil war. We are now entering into the gallery, where you are to see the figures at length of most of the persons whom in the sequel of this work you will see acting. You will judge by these characters, and by the particular strokes which I have tried to distinguish each of my actors by, whether or no I have given their true resemblances. I shall present you first with the Queen's character, it being just to begin with her.

The Queen had, more than any body whom I ever knew, of that sort of wit which was necessary, for her not to appear a fool to those that did not know her. She had in her more of harshness than of haughtiness; more of haughtiness than of greatness; more of outward appearance than reality; more regard to money than liberality; more of liberality than of self-interest; more of self-interest than disinterestedness: she was more tied to persons by habit than by affection; she had more of insensibility than of cruelty; she had a better memory for injuries than for benefits; her intention towards piety was greater than her piety; she had in her more of obstinacy than of firmness; and more incapacity, than of all the rest which I have mentioned before.

The Duke of Orleans, excepting courage, had all that was necessary to make a fine gentleman. But as he wanted every thing, without exception, that distinguishes a great man, he found nothing in himself that could supply his want of courage, and be a support to hi weakness. As that weakness had mastered his heart by means of his fear, and his mind by means of his irre-

irresolution, it stained the whole course of his life. He came into all the factions, because he wanted power to resist those who drew him in for their own interest: but he never came off of any but with shame, because he wanted courage to support himself whilst he was in them. This shadowing obscured in him, from his youth, colours which otherwise would have appeared most lively, and would have shone most naturally, in a bright and knowing mind, in a graceful sprightliness, in intentions that were good, in a compleat disinterestedness, and in an incredible easiness of manners.

The Prince of Condé was born a General, which never happened but to Cæsar, to Spinola, and to himself. He has equalled the first: he has surpassed the second. Intrepidity is one of the least shining strokes in his charactar. Nature had formed him with a mind as great as his courage: fortune, in setting him out in a time of wars, has given this last a full extent to work in: his birth, or rather his education in a family devoted and enslaved to the court, has kept the first within too streight bounds. He was not taught time enough the great and general maxims, which alone are able to form men to think always consistently. He never had time to learn them of himself, because he was prevented, from his youth, by the great affairs that fell unexpectedly to his share, and by the continual success he met with. This defect in him was the cause, that with the soul in the world the least inclined to evil, he has committed injuries; that with the heart of an Alexander, he has like him had his failings; that with a wonderful understanding he has acted imprudently; that having all the qualities which the Duke Francis * of Guise had, he has not served the state in some occasions, so well as he ought; and that having likewise all the qualities of the Duke Henry †

* Francis of Lorrain, second Duke of Guise, defended the city of Metz against the Emperor Charles the fifth, and did many other great actions. He was reckoned the bravest man of his time.

† Henry the first, son to Francis, who in concert with his brother the Cardinal, was the first author of the league against Henry the third.

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of Guiſe, he has not carried faction ſo far as he might. He could not come up to the height of his merit, which, though it be a defect, muſt yet be owned to be very uncommon, and only to be found in perſons of the greateſt abilities.

Mr. de Longueville, beſides that he bore the fine name of Orleans, was endowed with vivacity, agreeableneſs, magnificence, liberality, juſtice, valour, greatneſs; and yet he could never come up to be a great man, becauſe he carried his views infinitely beyond his capacity. Capacity without any views, ſignifies nothing: great views without capacity ſignify but little, and keep men in a ſtate of mediocrity.

Mr. de Beaufort had not ſo much as any idea of great affairs; his intention only turned him towards them. He had heard the Importants talk of them, and he had retained a little of their jargon. That jargon, mixed with the expreſſions which he had moſt exactly learned of the Dutcheſs of Vendôme, his mother, formed a language * that would have disfigured the good ſenſe of a Cato. As for Mr. de Beaufort's ſenſe, it was both ſhort and heavy; and ſo much the more ſo, becauſe it was darkened by his preſumption. He thought himſelf a ſkilful man, and that made him appear inclined to artifice, becauſe it was eaſy at firſt ſight to perceive that his ſhare of wit was too little to make him ſo. He was brave in his perſon, and more ſo than one would expect of a vain-glorious man, which he was in every thing, without exception, but never more, than in what related to his galantries. He thought and ſpoke like the people, of whom he was for ſome time the idol. You will ſee the reaſon why.

Mr. de Elbeuf had courage, only becauſe it is impoſſible for a Prince of the houſe of Lorrain not to have any. He had all the wit that a man is capable of, who has much more of art than good ſenſe. No body was able to ſpeak finer nonſenſe than he. He was the firſt Prince whom poverty brought into con-

* He ſpoke like the very meaneſt of the mob, which gave occaſion, when he became ſo great with them, to the ſaying; That a King ought to ſpeak the language of his ſubjects.

tempt;

tempt; and perhaps never man had less than he the art of making himself pitied in his misery. Poverty left him, but without raising him up; and if he had lived to be rich, he had been envied like a partisan, so well was beggary fitted and made for him.

Mr. de Bouillon was a gentleman of tried valour and of profound sense. By what I have observed of his conduct, I am persuaded that they have wronged his reputation that have cried it down. I do not know whether some have not favoured his merit, in thinking him capable of all the great things which he has not performed.

Mr. de Turenne had from his youth all manner of good qualities, and he has acquited betimes the great ones. He has missed none but such as he thought not of. All manner of virtues almost, were in some measure natural to him: he never had the glittering of any. He was thought fitter to be at the head of an army than of a party; and I think so too, because he was naturally not venturesome: however, who is sure of it? He always had in his manner of speaking, and in the rest of his actions, something dark, which nothing but proper opportunities could bring to light; but that was never brought to light, but to his credit.

The Mareschal de la Mothe was a man of great courage: he was a General of the second class; and as for his sense, that was but of the second size. His usual commerce was agreeable and easy enough, and his being very tractable made him very useful in a party.

I had almost forgot the Prince of Conti, which is as good a sign for the head of a party. I think I cannot better describe him to you than by saying that* - - -

There has always been something mysterious in Mr. de la Rochefoucaut. He was inclined to meddle with state intrigues from his youth, and at a time when he had no attention for little concerns, which never was his weak side; nor any knowledge of great ones, the managing of which, on the other hand, was not his talent. He never was fit for any manner of affairs, and I cannot tell why, for he had qualities which would have supplied in any other, those which he wanted. * - - -

as he might have done in the common way of life, for the politeſt and the fineſt gentleman that has appeared n that age.

Madam de Longueville has a great ſtore of natural wit, and, which is ſtill more, has been at the pains of refining that wit, and giving it a turn. Her capacity, which has not been helped by her lazineſs, could never reach ſo far as to affairs, which her hatred againſt the Prince of Condé, her brother, carried her into, and in which her gallantries have kept her. She had a languiſhing air that touched the heart, more than the vivacity even of women more beautiful than ſhe was. She had even a certain indolence of mind which had its charms, becauſe ſhe was now and then awaked out of it by ſtarts of fancy, ſurpriſingly fine. She had had but few defects, if ſhe had not contracted many by her gallantries. As her prevailing paſſion ſuffered politics to take but the ſecond rank, from the heroine of a great party, ſhe became in ſome meaſure the common miſtreſs of it. But what the world could not reſtore her to, grace has done.

Madam de Chevreuſe * had not even any remains of beauty when I firſt knew her. I never ſaw any but her, in whom vivacity ſupplied the want of judgment. She had pretty often ſuch bright flaſhes of that vivacity, that it appeared like lightning; but ſhe managed it ſo diſcreetly, that the greateſt men in all ages had not been aſhamed of its effects. However that merit was but occaſional. Had ſhe lived at a time when there had been no factions, ſhe had not ſo much as thought there could be any. If the Prior of the Carthuſians had pleaſed her, ſhe had retired from the world very ſincerely. The Duke de Lorraine †, who became her lover, brought her into affairs: the Duke

* Mary de Rohan, daughter to Hercules de Rohan, Duke of Montbazon, was born in the year 1600. She married in 1617, Charles d'Albert Duke of Luines, and Conſtable of France; and in 1621, ſhe took for her ſecond huſband Claude de Lorrain, Duke of Chevreuſe. She died in Auguſt 1679.

† Charles, fourth of the name, Duke of Lorrain and of Bar, who died in 1675.

of

of Buckingham † and the Earl of Holland ‡ kept her in that same road; Mr. de Chateauneuf || made them her amusement. She plunged herself into affairs as she did into every thing that pleased him she loved; and she loved without choice, and purely because she was necessitated to love. It was not even difficult to put upon her any lover one designed: but when once she had accepted of him, she loved him sincerely and intirely. I remember her owning to Madam de Rhodes and me, that a whim which she attributed to chance, she never loved best, him whom she esteemed most; excepting however, added she, poor Buckingham. Her being devoted to her passion, in which she might be called constant, though she changed objects, did not hinder but that the least thing diverted her from it: but she came always to it again with transports that made her distractions appear agreeable. No person was ever less attentive to danger, and never woman had a greater contempt for what is called scruple and duty: she knew of no other duty but that of pleasing her lover.

Mademoiselle de Chevreuse §, who had more of beauty than of gracefulness, was naturally simple even to the making her appear ridiculous. Passion gave her wit, even of a serious and agreeable sort, for the man she loved exclusively of all others. But she soon treated her lovers as she did her gowns, which she put in bed by her whilst they pleased her, and two hours after burnt them out of mere aversion.

The Princess Palatine * esteemed gallantry, and loved no less what is substantial in it. I do not be-

† George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, &c. Killed at Portsmouth by Felton.

‡ Richard, Earl of Holland, (younger brother to the Earl of Warwick) beheaded in the time of the rebellion. For him and Buckingham, see my Lord Clarendon's history.

|| Charles de l'Aubespine, Marquis de Chateauneuf, who had been Lord-keeper in Richlieu's time, whose disgrace he incurred, and was kept in prison for a long time.

§ Charlot Mary, daughter to the Dutchess of Chevreuse by her second husband.

* Ann de Gonzagues, daughter to Charles Duke of Mantua, married Edward of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine.

lieve that Queen Elizabeth of England had a greater capacity than she, for the governing a state. I have seen her amidst factions, I have seen her of the cabinet council, and have found her every where eqaally sincere.

Madam de Montbazon was extremely beautiful, but wanted a modest air. Her statelineſs, and her cant, might have supplied, in times more calm, her want of wit. She was little to be trusted to in her amours, not at all in affairs. She loved nothing so much as pleasure, except interest. I never knew a person who has, amidst her vice, preserved so little respect for virtue.

If it was not a kind of blasphemy to say, that there has been any body in this age more intrepid than the great Gustavus Adolphus, and the Prince of Condé, I would say that it was the first President, Molé. It is true, that his understanding did not come up by much to the height of his courage. Not but that there was betwixt them a sort of resemblance; but in respect to the understanding, it was not a handsome one. I have already told you that he was irregular in his language, and that is certain: but he had a sort of eloquence, which, though it shocked the ear, seized upon the mind. He sought the good of the state preferably to all things, even to that of his family; though he seemed to love his family too much for a magistrate. But his genius did not reach high enough to let him see betimes the good which he might have done. He presumed too much upon his power, by fancying that he could bring both the court and his company to a right temper. But he succeeded in neither, and made himself suspected by both; and so was the cause of ill with good intentions. His prepossession contributed much to that. In every thing he carried it to extremes, and I have even observed, that he always judged of actions by men, and never, or at least very seldom, of men by their actions. Having been brought up from his infancy in the forms of the courts of justice, whatever went out of that road became suspicious to him. There is hardly any disposition more dangerous, in those that

meet

meet with affairs where the common rules ought to be laid by.

The share, though small, that I had in the transactions of those times, might perhaps permit me to add here my own character. But besides the difficulty there is of knowing one's self sufficiently to know one's own picture truly, I own, that I find so great a satisfaction in leaving that work only and entirely to you, by submitting all my actions to your judgment, that I dare not so much as undertake to form within my own mind the least sketch of that character. I reassume the thread of my narration.

The powers relating to the Generals having been regulated in the manner I have mentioned, the next work was to find out necessary funds for the levying and subsisting the troops. All the several companies and bodies joined together about it, and Paris brought forth, without any pain, a complete army in a week's time. The Bastille * surrendered, after having suffered, only for form's sake, the firing of a few guns. The spectacle was pleasant enough to see the women at that famous siege, carry their chairs to the garden belonging to the arsenal where the battery was, as they do to a sermon.

Mr. de Beaufort, who since his escape from the Bois-de-Vincennes had been lurking from house to house in the Vendemois, arrived that day at Paris, and went to lodge at Prudhomme's. Montresor, whom he had sent for as he entered the town-gate, came to me with a compliment from him, and to tell me that he would be at my house within a quarter of an hour. I prevented him, and went to Prudhomme's, where I did not find that his imprisonment had added any thing to his sense, though it had to his reputation. It is certain that he bore that imprisonment with constancy, and made his escape from it with courage. It was even a merit with him not to have quitted the borders of the Loire, at a time when it certainly required skill and courage to keep there. It is no hard matter to set off,

* A royal castle in Paris, built by Charles V. where prisoners of state are detained.

at the beginning of a civil war, the merit of those that are on ill terms at court; that alone is a great merit. Mr. de Beaufort had some time before charged Montresor to assure me that he should be very glad to enter into measures with me; so having had time beforehand to consider the use I might put him to, I had now and then, in an unaffected manner, caused reports to be spread among the people, that were to his advantage. I had adorned with a thousand flourishes, an attempt of the Cardinal's against him, undertaken by du Hamel. Montresor, who informed him exactly of what I did in his favour, had by this means disposed all necessary matters towards the forming a strict union betwixt us. You will easily believe that that union was not disadvantageous to him, considering my credit with the party; and it was necessary to me in some sort, because being like in a thousand rencounters to be embarrassed by my profession, I wanted a man whom upon occasion I might set up in my room. The Mareschal de la Mothe had such a dependance upon the Duke de Longueville, that there was no relying upon him. Mr. de Bouillon was not a man that would be governed. It was a tool I wanted, and a tool only; and by good fortune it happened that the tool I met with, was grandson to Henry the Great; that he spoke the language of the market-women, which was extraordinary for one of that noble blood; and that besides, he wore fair long hair. You can hardly imagine of what weight these circumstances were, nor how they took with the people.

We came out together from Prudhomme's to wait on the Prince of Conti. We sat both together at one boot of the coach, and we caused the coach to stop in the streets of St. Dennis, and of St. Martin. I shewed the people the Duke de Beaufort, I named him by his name, and spoke in his commendation. The fire took in less than an instant. All the women kissed him, and the crowd became so great, that without exaggeration it was with difficulty that we could get to the town-house. The Duke presented the next day a petition to the parliament, whereby he asked leave to purge himself

himself of the attempt with which he was charged against Cardinal Mazarin's person, which was granted, and done the following day.

Mr. de Luines * and Mr. de Vitri † arrived at Paris at that time, in order to join themselves to the party; and the parliament issued out that famous arrest, wherein it was ordered that all the King's money in the several receivers hands throughout the kingdom, should be seized upon, and made use of for the common defence.

On the other hand, the Prince of Condé took up his several quarters. He posted the Mareschal du Plessis ‡ at St. Dennis; the Mareschal de Grammont at St. Clou; and Palluau ||, who has been since Mareschal de Clerembaut, at Seve. The natural activity of that Prince was still wonderfully stirred up by the passion he was in against the Prince of Conti and Mr. de Longueville, for their declaring for the parliament. That raised such a distrust in the court, that Cardinal Mazarin not doubting but that the Prince of Condé acted in concert with them, was upon the point of leaving the court, and was not put in heart again till he saw the Prince come back to St. Germains from the quarters where he was gone to give his orders. At his coming back, he seemed transported with rage, chiefly against Madam de Longueville, to whom the Princess Dowager of Condé her mother, who was at St. Germains, wrote a letter the next day to inform her of that particular. I read in that letter these words concerning myself: 'They are here so exasperated against the Co-'adjutor, that I am forced to speak of him in the same 'dialect with the rest. I cannot however help thank-'ing him for what he has done for the poor Queen of 'England §.' That circumstance is founded upon a

* Lewis-Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luines, son to the Dutchess de Chevreuse, by her first husband.

† Francis Marie de l'Hopital, Duke of Vitri.

‡ Cæsar, Count du Plessis-Praslin, Duke of Choiseul, Mareschal of France.

|| Philip of Clerambaut, Count de Palluau, was made Mareschal of France in 1653.

§ Henrietta Maria, wife to King Charles the First.

fact as extraordinary as it is curious. Five or six days before the King removed from Paris, I went to visit the Queen of England, whom I found in her daughter's chamber, who hath been since Dutchess of Orleans. At my coming in, she said: 'You see, I am 'come to keep Henrietta company. The poor child 'could not rise to-day for want of a fire.' The truth is, that the Cardinal for six months together had not ordered her any money towards her pension; that no trades people would trust her for any thing; and that there was not at her lodgings in the Louvre one single billet. You will do me the justice to think that the Princess of England did not keep her bed the next day for want of a faggot; but however, you will think likewise, that it was not this which the Princess of Condé meant in her letter. What she spoke about was, that some days after my visiting the Queen of England, I remembered the condition I had found her in, and had strongly represented the shame of abandoning her in that manner, which caused the parliament to send 40000 livres to her Majesty. Posterity will hardly believe that a Princess of England, granddaughter to Henry the Great, hath wanted a faggot in the month of January to get out of bed, in the Louvre, and in the eyes of a French court. We read in histories, with horror, of baseness less monstrous than this; and the little concern I have met with about it in most people's minds, has obliged me to make, I believe, a thousand times, this reflection: *That examples of times past move men beyond comparison, more than those of their own times. We accustom ourselves to what we see, and I have sometimes told you, that I doubted whether Caligula's horse being made a Consul, would have surprized us so much as we imagine.*

The party having received its form, there was nothing wanting now but the establishing of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, which was done without any kind of negociation. A Cornet of my regiment, being taken prisoner by a party of that of la Villette's, was carried to St. Germains, where the Queen ordered his head to be immediately struck off. The great

Provost

Provoſt * of the Hôtel, who foreſaw the conſequence, and who was a pretty good friend of mine, gave me notice of it, and I ſent immediately a trumpet to Palluau, who commanded the quarters at Seve, with a letter very eccleſiaſtical; but wherein I ſhewed the inconveniences that were to follow, which were the nearer, becauſe we had likewiſe priſoners in our hands, and among others Mr. d'Olonne †, who was taken in a footman's dreſs, juſt as he was eſcaping.

Palluau went that moment to St. Germains, where he repreſented the conſequences of that execution. It was with great pain that they could obtain from the Queen a reprieve till the next day; but in the mean time they made her comprehend the importance of the thing, and ſo my Cornet was exchanged, and the cartel was eſtabliſhed inſenſibly.

I will not trouble you with the whole detail of the ſiege, which commenced the 9th of January 1648-9, and was raiſed on the firſt of April following. I ſhall content myſelf to mention only ſome of the moſt conſiderable days. But before I come to that, I think it neceſſary to ſpeak of two or three things that deſerve ſome reflection.

The firſt is, That there was not the leaſt ſtirring in Paris in all that time, though all paſſages of rivers were ſtopped by the enemy, whoſe parties were beſides continually harraſſing us on the land ſide. It may even be ſaid, that the town, during the ſiege, was under no inconveniences; and I may add, that no ſigns of fear appeared there, except on the 23d of January, and on the 9th and 10th of March, when people in the markets were ſomewhat ſtartled; and a ſmall ſpark of commotion was ſeen among them, cauſed rather by the covetouſneſs and malice of the bakers, than by the want of bread.

My ſecond obſervation is, That as ſoon as Paris had declared itſelf, the whole kingdom was in a com-

* Or Judge in Ordinary of the King's Houſhold.

† Lewis de la Trimouille, Marquis de Royan, and Count d'Olonne.

motion. The parliament of Aix, who had caused the Count d'Alais, the Governor of Provence, to be arrested, entered into an union with that of Paris. The parliament of Roüen, whether Mr. de Longueville went upon the 20th of January, did the like. That of Thoulouse was upon the point of following that example, and was hindered from the doing it, only by hearing of the conference at Ruel, which I shall mention by and by. The Prince d'Harcout *, who is at this day Duke d'Elbeuf, got into Montreüil, which he was Governor of, and declared for the parliament: Rheims, Tours, and Poictiers, took up arms in its favour. The Duke de la Trimouille † levied troops publickly for that interest. The Duk de Retz offered the parliament his services and Belle-Isle. The province of Mans drove away their Bishop and the whole house of Lavardin, for their too strict union with the court; and Bourdeaux staid only to declare itself till they had received the letters which they knew the parliament of Paris had wrote to all the sovereign courts, and to all the cities in the kingdom, inviting them to unite with them against the common enemy: these letters to the city and parliament of Bourdeaux, were intercepted on the side of Guienne.

My third observation is, That for the three months time that the siege lasted, and during which the parliament never failed meeting every morning, and even sometimes in the afternoon; they most commonly treated of nothing there but of such trifling and frivolous matters, as might have been determined every sitting in a quarter of an hour's time, by two deputies. The matters that employed them most, were the advices which they received at every instant, of either goods or money that was pretended to be hid at Partizans ‡, or at courtiers houses. Of a thousand such advices not ten had a foundation. That fondness for little matters, and that obstinacy not to depart from

* Charles of Lorrain, the third of the name.
† Henry de la Trimouille, Duke of Thouars.
‡ Farmers of the King's revenues.

their

their usual forms, in affairs that were directly opposite to form, made me perceive betimes, that companies which are ordered for establishing tranquility, can never be proper for war. I now come to the detail.

The 18th of January 1648-9, I was admitted into the parliament, there to sit and vote in the absence of my uncle; and in the afternoon we signed at Mr. de Bouillon's a writing, whereby we all engaged to stand by one another. The persons that signed, besides myself, were Messieurs de Beaufort, de Bouillon, de la Mothe, de Noirmoutier, de Vitri, de Brisac, de Maure, de Matha, de Cugnac, de Barriere, de Silleri, de la Rochefoucaut, de Laigues, de Sevigny, de Bethune, de Luynes, de Chaumont, de St. Germain d'Apchon, and de Fiesque.

The 21st of that same month, the remonstrance in writing, which the parliament had ordered to be presented to the King, when they gave their arrest against Cardinal Mazarin, was read, approved, and published. It was full of grievous charges against that Minister, and served properly but for a manifesto, because they refused receiving it at court, upon pretence that the parliament (which they had suppressed as being in rebellion) had no longer a right of acting in a body.

The 24th, Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Mothe, went upon an enterprize which they had formed upon Corbëil, but were prevented by the Prince of Condé, who threw some troops into that town.

The 29th, Mr. de Vitri went with a party of horse to fetch his Lady, who was coming from Coubert to Paris. He met in the valley of Fescamp some troops belonging to the garrison of the castle of Vincennes, which he drove back to the very castle gates. Tancrede † the pretended son of the late Duke de Rohan ‡, who the day before had declared for us, was unhappily killed in this small rencounter.

The first of February, Mr. d'Elbeuf put a garrison

† The parliament of Paris by an arrest of the year 1646 declared him an impostor.

‡ Henry, the second of the name.

in Brie-Conte-Robert, to favour the paſſage of the proviſions that came to us out of Brie.

The 8th of that ſame month, Talon, one of the King's Council, propoſed to the parliament the making ſome advances towards the Queen, as a mark of their reſpect and duty; which propoſal was ſeconded by the firſt Preſident, and the Preſident de Meſmes. But it was rejected by the whole company, even with great clamours and cries, becauſe it was thought to have been contrived jointly with the court. I am of another opinion: but I own that it was unſeaſonably and indecently moved, becauſe not one of the Generals was preſent, which made me ſtrongly oppoſe it.

The evening of that ſame day, Clanleu, whom we had poſted at Charenton with 3000 men, had notice given him that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé were marching to him with 7000 foot, 4000 horſe, and ſome cannon. I had at the ſame time the like notice ſent me from St. Germains.

Mr. de Bouillon, whom the gout kept in his bed, thought not that poſt tenable, and his advice therefore was, to withdraw the troops from it, and to keep only the middle of the bridge. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who loved Clanleu, and who believed this occaſion a means to make him purchaſe honour very cheap, becauſe he gave no credit to the notice that had been ſent, was of another opinion. Mr. de Beaufort was willing to ſhew his volour. The Mareſchal de la Mothe believed (as he has owned to me ſince) that the Prince of Condé would not venture that attack in ſight of our forces, conſidering how advantagiouſly they might be poſted. The Prince of Conti (as it is uſual to all weak perſons) followed the moſt noiſy ſide. Clanleu was ordered to make good his poſt, upon promiſe of being joined with the forces at break of day, which was not done. It was exceſſively long before the troops could be got out of Paris*, and it was ſeven in the morning before they

* Joli ſays, That on this occaſion, the Coadjutor went out armed with the troops, to ſhew that the character of a prieſt was not incompatible with that of a brave man. Vide Joli's Memoirs, vol. I. page 46.

were

were in order of battle upon the rising ground at Fescamp, tho' they had begun to file off at eleven o'clock at night. The Prince of Condé attacked Charenton at break of day, and took it; but he lost there Mr. de Châtillon, who was a Lieutenant-general in his army. Clanlieu was killed there, having refused quarter. We lost in that action eighty officers, and the Prince of Condé had not above twelve or fifteen of his men killed. Our army was beginning their march, when they perceived that of the Prince upon two lines on the other side of the hill. Neither army was willing to begin an attack, because of the valley that was between them, and of the disadvantage of them that should move first. They did nothing all day long but skirmish, or look upon one another. Noirmoutier, by means of these skirmishes, detached 1000 horses without being perceived by the Prince, and went himself with them towards Estampes, to guard a great convoy of all manner of live cattle which was assembled there. 'Tis to be observed, that People hastened to Paris from all the provinces, because money was plenty there, and that from all parts they were equally bent upon its defence.

The 10th, Mr. de Beaufort and Mr. de la Mothe sallied out to favour Noirmourtier's return, and met with the Mareschal de Grammont in the plain of Ville-juifve, who had with him 2000 of the guards, both Switz and French, and 2000 horse. Nerlieu, a younger brother of the house of Beauveau, and a good officer, who commanded Mazarin's horse, coming to the charge, was killed by Mr. de Beaufort's guards, at the gate of Vitri. Brionne, father to him, with whom you are acquainted, took away by force Mr. de Beaufort's sword. The Mazarinians lost ground, and even the foot-guards were in some fright, the pikes of their battalions mixing together with a clashing, which is always a sign of disorder. However, the Mareschal de la Mothe made a halt, being unwilling to expose the convoy, which began to appear, to the uncertain issue of a battle. The Mareschal de Grammont retired, and the convoy came safe to Paris, accompanied, I believe, by above

100,000

100,000 men, who were gone out of Paris upon the news that Mr. de Beaufort was engaged.

The 11th Brillac, a Counſellor of the Inqueſts, and a man in repute with the parliament, ſaid in a full aſſembly of the Chambers, that it was time to think of a peace? that the citizens began to be weary of the charge of ſubſiſting the army; that all at laſt would fall on the parliament; that he knew for certain, that a propoſal for an accommodation would be very agreeable to the court. Aubri, Preſident in the Chamber of Accounts, had ſpoke in that ſame ſenſe the day before, in the council held at the Town-houſe; and you will ſee preſently, that they made uſe at St. Germains of the credulity of theſe two men, the firſt of whom had no talent but in affairs relating to the law, and the ſecond no talent for any thing; that they made uſe of them, I ſay, at St. Germains to cover an enterprize that was made upon Paris. The parliament came to great heats about the propoſal: the conteſts on both ſides laſted long, and it was at laſt reſolved that it ſhould be put to the vote the next day.

On that day, which was the 12th of February, Michel, that commanded the guard at the gate of St. Honoré, came to acquaint the parliament, that a herald with his coat of arms on, and accompanied by two trumpets, was come to the gate, and aſked to ſpeak to the company, being the bearer of three packets, one for them, one for the Prince of Conti, and one for the Town-houſe. They were then juſt about ſitting, and were all buſy in talking of what happened the night before at eleven o'clock, in the Market-halls, where the Chevalier de la Valette* had been taken up, as he was ſpreading injurious libels againſt the parliament, but much more ſo againſt me. He was brough to the Town-houſe, where I met him, as I was coming down ſtairs from Madam de Longueville's chamber. I knew him extremely well, and for that reaſon I behaved myſelf civilly to him, and I cauſed a great number of people that were uſing him ill to retire. But I was

* A baſtard of the houſe of Epernon.

much

much surprized when, instead of returning my civilities, he said with a haughty tone, 'I fear nothing; 'I am serving my King.' My surprize indeed about his behaviour lessened when the libels were shewed me, because compliments could not have agreed with them. I had five or six hundred of them that were found in his coach put into my hands. He continued speaking haughtily to me, but that did not make me alter my manners; I expressed my concern for the misfortune that had happened to him. The Prevost-des-Merchands sent him prisoner to the Conciergerie*. This adventure, that had already shewed no great signs of the court's good disposition towards a peace, of which Brillac and the President Aubri had bragged to have so good an information, together with the apparition of a herald, who seemed as it were dropped from the sky, just at that nick of time, were but too certain proofs that there was a design in hand. The whole parliament saw it as plainly as the rest did; but the whole parliament was likely to act as if they did not see it, because in ordinary proceedings they are so much tied up to their forms, that in extraordinary ones they do not know how to depart from them, nor how to separate them from what is substantial. 'This herald must be looked to: he does not 'come without a design: there are too many circum-'stances that hang one upon another. We are amused 'by proposals: persons are sent to spread libels about 'in order to stir up the people: the next day a herald 'appears; there must be some mystery in this.' These were the words of those of the parliament. But they added, 'What must we do in the mean while? Shall 'a parliament refuse to hear a herald sent from their 'King, when an herald was never refused a hearing 'coming from an enemy?' In this manner did every body speak, with this only difference, that some tuned their voices higher, and some lower. Those of the court party spoke as loud as ever they could; those against the court spoke more softly. The Prince of Conti and the Generals had a message sent them,

* The prison belonging to the parliament.

whereby

whereby they were desired to come and take their seats in the parliament; and while some staid for them in one of the chambers, some in another, I took old Brousſel aside, and I opened to him an expedient which came into my head not above a quarter of an hour before the court sat.

My first view, when I found the parliament disposed to give the herald entrance, was to cause all the troops to take up arms, and to line all the streets thro' which he was to pass, and in so thick a manner, that though it looked like an honour done him, it might prevent, as much as possible, the people from seeing him, and altogether from hearing him speak. My second view was the best. Brousſel was one of the oldest Counsellors of the Great Chamber, and as such opened always one of the first. I advised him to say, that he wondered that they should be at any stand in this case: that they had but one way, which was to refuse the giving audience, and even entrance to the herald, because heralds were never sent but to enemies or to equals; that the sending a herald to them, was but a gross artifice of Cardinal Mazarin's, who thought thereby to blind the parliament and the town to a degree that might induce them, under pretence of obedience, to act in the most disrespectful and criminal manner. Old Brousſel, who was struck with the force of this argument, though there was nothing in it but a very slight appearance, pushed it on even till tears ran down his cheeks. It moved the whole company: they all conceived that no other answer could be given. The President de Mesmes, who would have alledged the examples of five and twenty or thirty heralds sent from Kings to their subjects, was repulsed and hissed at, as if he had said the thing in the world the most ridiculous. Those that voted against it could hardly be heard; it passed, that the herald should be refused entrance, and that the King's council should be charged to acquaint the Queen with their reasons for that refusal. The Prince of Conti and the Town-house made use of the same pretence to refuse the hearing of the herald and the receiving his packets, which he left

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the next day upon the rail of the gate of St. Honoré. This accident, and the taking up of the Chevalier de la Valette, were the cauſe that the reſolution agreed upon the day before of deliberating upon Brillac's propoſal, was quite forgot and laid aſide. It occaſioned only jealouſies about theſe faint appearances of an accommodation; but the minds of people grew much more exaſperated ſome days after, when the particulars of that interprize came to be known. The Chevalier de la Valette, a man of a dark and deſperate mind, but withal very brave, and fit to undertake any thing, had formed the deſign of killing Mr. de Beaufort and me upon the ſtairs of the Parliament-hall. He was to have made uſe for that purpoſe of the diſorder which ſo extraordinary a ſight as that of the herald would, as he expected, occaſion in the city. The court has always denied the fact as to the attempt againſt our lives; but as to the libels, they owned what they had done, and they reclaimed him. What I know moſt certainly is, that Cohon, Biſhop of Dole, told the Biſhop of Aire two days before, that we ſhould not live three days longer; and in the ſame converſation he mentioned the Prince of Condé as a man to whom it was not fit to intruſt every thing, becauſe he was loth to deſide. But that I have judged that the Prince was not let into the botton of the Chevalier de la Valette's deſign, I have always forgot to ſpeak to him about it.

The 19th, the Prince of Conti acquainted the parliament, that a gentleman ſent from the Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Low Countries for the King of Spain, waited at the Serjeant's Bar, deſiring an audience of the Company. At theſe laſt words of the Prince of Conti's, the King's Council, came in to give an account to the company of what they had done at St. Germains, where they had been admirably well received. The Queen had liked extremely the reaſon which had obliged the company to refuſe the herald entrance, and ſhe had aſſured the King's Council, that though the ſtate of things hindered her from acknowledging the parliament's reſolutions, as if they were arreſts that came from a ſovereign court, ſhe however

received

received with joy the assurances which the company gave her of their respect and submission, which if they would but begin to make effectual, she would on her side give them the greatest marks of kindness, to all in general, and to every one in particular. Talon, who was Advocate-general, and who always spoke with force and with dignity, made that report to the company, and did it with all the necessary flourishes. He concluded his discourse by assuring the company, as from himself, in very moving terms, that if they would send deputies to St. Germains, they would meet there with a very kind reception, and that that might prove a very good step towards a peace. The first President, after this acquanting Talon with the coming of a gentleman from the Archduke, that was waiting at the door of the Grand Chamber, Talon, who was a dextrous man, took occasion from thence to inforce what he had proposed.—He said, that it seemed to him as if Providence had offered this opportunity for them to express in a stronger manner still their loyalty to the King, by refusing to hear the envoy, and thereby letting the Queen know the respect they had for her. This apparition of an Envoy from Spain to the parliament of Paris, is an uncommon scene enough in our French history, and I must therefore open it a little more to you.

You have already seen that St. Ibal, who kept correspondence with Fuensaldagne, had from time to time pressed me to enter into the like measures, and I have acquainted you with the reasons that kept me from doing it. But when I found that we were besieged; that Cardinal Mazarin was sending Vautorte to Flanders, in order to begin some negotiations with the Spaniards; and that our party was well enough formed to prevent my being charged in particular with an union with the public enemy, I ceased being so scrupulous. I sent word to St. Ibal, who had left France, and who was sometimes at the Hague, sometimes at Brussels, that as matters stood I thought I might with honour harken to proposals, if any were offered me, for the relief of Paris. I desired him however to contrive

trive the matter ſo, that nobody ſhould be ſent directly to me, and that I might in nowiſe appear in what ſhould be made public. What engaged me to write to that purpoſe to St. Ibal, was what he himſelf had acquainted me with by the means of Montreſor. For he ſent me word, that the Spaniards, who knew that I was the only man in Paris that might be reckoned maſter of the people, and who ſaw me take no ſteps at all towards them, began to think that I was hindered from doing it by ſome regard I had for the court; and they putting no truſt, in what related to Paris, in any of the Generals, they might be induced to hearken to the immenſe offers which were every day made them in Cardinal Mazarin's name. Madam de Bouillon had likewiſe let fall ſome words, by which I had diſcovered that ſhe knew as much of that matter as St. Ibal did. So that in concert with the Duke and the Dutcheſs de Bouillon, I gave to St. Ibal the directions I juſt now mentioned. I inſinuated likewiſe to him, in concert with them, that we ſhould be glad that the ſcene might be opened by Mr. d'Elbeuf. This appeared to be the moſt natural way, becauſe in Cardinal Richlieu's time Mr. d'Elbeuf had ſtaid for twelve or fifteen years in Flanders, having a penſion from Spain. That way was accepted of as ſoon as propoſed. The Count de Fuenſaldagne ſent the very next day Arnolfini, a Bernardine Monk, in the habit of a Cavalier, and under the name of Don Joſeph d'Illeſcas. He came to Mr. d'Elbeuf at two in the morning, and gave him a credential letter that contained but a few words; which credentials the Envoy explained in the manner which it will be eaſy for you to imagine.

Mr. d'Elbeuf now thought himſelf the moſt conſiderable man of the party; and coming the next day from the parliament, he carried us all to dine with him, that is, all that made a figure; telling us that he had ſomething of great conſequence to impart to us. The Prince of Conti, Mr. de Beaufort, the Mareſchal de la Mothe, the Preſidents le Coigneux, de Bellievre, de Neſmond, de Novion, and Viole, were there. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who was naturally a great comedian,

median, opened his speech by the tenderness he had for his dear country, and by his being so good a Frenchman that he had not the heart to open a small note, only because it came to him from a suspected place, the name of which was not discovered without many scruples and mysterious words. The President de Nesmond, who with all the fire of a Gascon was the simplest man alive, acted the second scene as naturally, as the other had acted the first artfully. He looked upon the letter, (which Mr. d'Elbeuf had thrown upon the table, sealed up again very neatly,) as he would upon the sacrifice that witches in their assemblies are said to make to the devil. Mr. d'Elbeuf, he said, was much to blame to have called him and his brothers of the parliament to an act of that nature. At last the President le Coigneux being weary of these fooleries, took up the letter, which indeed looked more like a billet-doux than any thing else. He opened it, and having read the contents, which were nothing but credentials; having likewise heard from Mr. d'Elbeuf what the bearer of the letter had said to him, he then made a pantaloonade worthy of the two first scenes. He ridiculed the affectation that had hitherto been used; he prevented our going on in the same manner, and so brought us all to a resolution, which was, not to reject the aid offered us by Spain. The difficulty was about the way of receiving it, and many particular circumstances rendered that difficulty indeed very great. Madam de Bouillon, who had discovered to me the day before her whole correspondence with Spain, had likewise explained Fuensaldagne's intentions, which were to engage with us, provided that he was sure of our engaging in like manner with him. This engagement could be made on our side only by the parliament, or by myself. Fuensaldagne doubted much that the parliament would engage, because he knew that the two heads of it, the first President and the President de Mesmes would by no means hearken to any propositions. As for me, I had given him so little encouragement to treat with me, that he thought me as little to be depended on as

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the parliament. He knew how little Mr. d'Elbeuf's credit was, and how unsafe it was to rely on him. He knew that I had the disposal of Mr. de Beaufort, and besides, that his credit, by reason of his incapacity, was but a mere shadow. He could make nothing of Mr. de Longueville, nor of the Mareschal de la Mothe, by reason of the perpetual wavering of the one, and of the small sense of the other. He looked upon Mr. de Bouillon as one indeed in whom he could confide; but Mr. de Bouillon could not have gained him Paris, where he had no manner of power: besides the gout *, that kept him inactive, had given room to the court to render him suspicious to the people. All these considerations which embarrassed Fuensaldagne, and might easily have obliged him to turn his views towards St. Germains, where they were in the right to fear his joining with us: all these considerations, I say, could be rectified and turn to our good, only by the parliament's making a treaty with Spain, which was impossible, or by an engagement from me with that crown, that should bind me altogether. St. Ibal, who remembered that he had formerly received instructions from me which tended to an engagement of that nature, made no doubt of my continuing still in the same disposition, since he saw me resolved to hearken to proposals; and though Fuensaldagne was not of that opinion, he however gave it in charge to his agent to try me about it, and even to declare that Spain would do nothing for us, except I should first enter into that engagement. That agent, before his seeing Mr. d'Elbeuf, had had private conferences for two or three days together with the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon, to whom he had plainly declared the directions he had, in what concerned me, and that had obliged Madam de Bouillon to speak to me in the open manner she had done before, and to enter into more particulars than she had hitherto done. But the instructions I had formerly given St. Ibal, which the pressing necessity of be-

* It was thought by a great many that his illness was often a counterfeit one. See, before, the Triolet made upon him upon that account.

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ing quickly assisted had at that time brought me to, were now out of date. No treaty now could be kept secret, which must necessarily be made jointly with Generals, of which I suspected some, and dreaded others. I had observed that Mr. de la Rochefoucaut had much altered Madam de Longueville's favourable sentiments, and the Mareschal de la Mothe's vigour. I shall say nothing of Mr. d'Elbeuf. I considered Mr. de Bouillon supported by Spain, with whom his principality of Sedan naturally obliged him to have engagements, as another Duke of Mayenne, who would probably soon find his interest, in many occasions, different from that of Paris, and whose power might become great enough in a little time, by the aid of Spanish gold and Spanish counsels, to drive the Coadjutor out of Paris, as the Duke de Mayenne had done his great uncle, the Cardinal de Gondi, at the time of the league. In the conference I had with the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon upon that matter, I kept none of my reflections hid from them, not even the last, which you may be sure however I took care to temper by giving it a turn of raillery, the gentlest and civilest I could. Madam de Bouillon, who never attempted to do or say any thing that tended to gallantry, but in concert with her husband, omitted in this occasion none of those airs which would have made her appear a most lovely woman, had she been as ugly as she was handsome; and all this to persuade me that by all means I ought to treat, and that the Duke her husband and I being joined together, we should always be more than able to counterbalance all our opposers.

Mr. de Bouillon, who entered into all my thoughts, and who knew very well that what I spoke was agreeable to my real interest, conformed himself of a sudden to my sentiments, being moved to it by a reason which ought to work the like effect on all people, though it does it but on very few. *I never knew but him who never contested what he believed he could not obtain.* He came over to my opinion, even in a very obliging manner. He told Madam de Bouillon: 'That 'I acted as I ought to do in the post I was in; that

'the civil war might end the next day; that I was 'Archbishop of Paris for life; that none in this juncture had so great an interest as I, to save that city, 'but that my interest consisted as much in keeping 'myself afterwards united to it: but however, after 'having heard all that I had said, he thought that 'matters might be set to rights.' He then proposed a thing to me which I had not thought of before, and which at first I could not relish, though after some examination, I in my turn conformed myself in that to his sentiments. The thing was to oblige the parliament to give the Spanish agent audience, which would in some measure do our business as well as we could have wished. The Spaniards, who never dreamed of that, would be agreeably surprised; those of the parliament, without designing it, would find themselves engaged, and that would open a door to the Generals for entering into articles, which might be looked upon afterwards as having been tacitly approved of by that whole body: it would without doubt be an easy matter for Mr. de Bouillon, to convince the Spanish agent how much it was for his private advantage to be able to inform the Arch-duke by his next express, that the parliament of the peers of France had received a letter, and had given audience to an agent, sent by the King of Spain's General in the Low-Countries: that General would be made to understand, that prudence required that some one of the party should be left, who even in concert with him, should seem to enter into no manner of measures with Spain, to be thereby enabled to ward off, in case of need, the inconveniences which a correspondence with the enemies of the state carried necessarily along with it, in a party where, in regard to the parliament, wiser measures ought to be taken in this point than in any other: that both my profession, and the post I held, made me fitter than any one else to act that part, and that by good luck, the public interest required it, as much as my private one. The difficulty lay in persuading the parliament to give the Arch-duke's Envoy audience, and yet nothing but that audience could balance with that Envoy the want

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of my signing, without which he was not impowered, as he pretended, to do any thing. We threw ourselves in this occasion, Mr. de Bouillon and I, into the hands of fortune; and the example which was so fresh of the Herald, who was refused audience upon the most frivolous pretence in the world, made us hope that it might be granted to this Envoy, when many solid reasons would be found for his being heard.

Our Bernardine, who found that audience, which had not been so much as thought of at Brussels, to turn much to his account, was overjoyed at that proposal. He wrote about it to the Arch-duke in the manner that we could have wished, and he gave us his word that he would, before the answer came, act altogether as we should order him. He made use of these words, and no wonder at it, when he was ordered, as I have since learnt, to follow in every thing without exception, the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon's advice.

In this state were things, when Mr. d'Elbeuf shewed us as something very new, the letter that the Count de Fuensaldagne had wrote to him, and you may well judge that without any manner of hesitation, I was for having the Envoy to go in person to the parliament to present that letter. That proposition was at first looked upon as heretical; and without any exaggeration, it wanted but little to be hissed at by the whole company. I persisted in my opinion, giving my reasons for it, which persuaded no body. The President le Coigneux, who was the man there of the quickest understanding, taking notice of my mentioning now and then a letter writ by the Arch-duke, which no body else had spoke of, sided with me of a sudden, but without telling me the true reason why, which was that he did not doubt but that I knew something underhand that had induced me to be of that opinion; and observing that the debate was carried on with pretty much confusion, and that we all disputed with one another standing, he said to me: 'Why do not you open yourself to your 'friends? We should all do as you would have us. I 'find that you know more of this matter than him 'that thinks to have been the first that has let you into 'it.'

'st.' I own that I was extremely ashamed of my want of discretion; for it was pretty plain that his speaking to me in this manner, could proceed only from what I had said of the letter from the Arch-duke to the parliament, which in reality was no more than a blank signed, which we had filled up at Mr. de Bouillon's. I squeezed the President le Coigneux by the hand, and made some signs to Mr. de Beaufort and to the Mareschal de la Mothe. The Presidents de Novion and de Bellievre came over to my opinion, the ground of which was, that the aid of Spain, to which we were necessitated to have recourse as to an empyrical and dangerous remedy to our evils, would infallibly prove mortal to all private persons concerned in it, except it passed at least through the allembick of the parliament. We all desired Mr. d'Elbeuf to bring the Spanish Agent to consent to confer with us, only about the form which he was to observe. We saw him that same night, Mr. le Coigneux and I, at the Duke d'Elbeuf's, where (in that Duke's presence) we told him as a great secret all that we were willing should be made public; as for what he was to say to the parliament, that had been concerted at Mr. de Bouillon's the day before. The Bernardine performed his part on this occasion like an understanding man. I shall give you an abstract of the speech he made there, after I have acquainted you with what passed on that occasion in the parliament at the time that he demanded an audience, or rather the Prince of Conti for him.

The President de Mesmes, uncle to the President of that name who is now in the parliament, and a very able man, but tied to the court even in a slavish manner, both by reason of his ambition that gave him no rest, and of his fear that was excessive; the President de Mesmes, I say, at the single mention that was made of an Envoy from the Arch-duke, exclaimed in so eloquent and moving a manner, that I have met with nothing of that sort amongst the ancients that comes up to it; and then turning himself towards the Prince of Conti: 'Is it possible, Sir,' said he, 'that a Prince 'of the Blood of France can propose to give a seat on

'the Fleur-de-Luces, to an Envoy from the greatest 'enemy of France?'

We had foreseen this storm, and would willingly have exposed Mr. d'Elbeuf to its first fury; but he had sheltered himself from it dextrously enough, saying, that the same reason that had obliged him to give his General an account of the letter which he had received, did not give him leave to speak of it to the parliament when his General was to be there in person. It was necessary however that some body should pave the way, and should let fall amongst a company, on whom the first impressions are of greatest force, the first words about a general as well as a particular peace, which was to be the errand of the Envoy. The manner in which the mentioning an Envoy from Spain should work at first on the minds of those of the inquests, was to determine * whether or no he should be heard. We knew that the least shadow of any concert, in companies that are tied to rules, is able to poison things which are even the most just and necessary, and this inconveniency was more to be feared in this occasion than in any other. However, after we had debated the matter, and weighed all inconveniences, we judged it a less one to let people believe that this could not happen without some concert with Spain, than not to let it pass, as I said before, through the alembick of the parliament. I admired, in the debate we had about it, Mr. de Bouillon's judgment; for it was at his house that this was debated, and where it was resolved that the Prince of Conti should make the first overture of it to the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon declared himself for it, without hesitating in the least, which shewed how solid his judgment was, there being no greater proof of it than in being able to chuse, when the inconveniences are great on both sides. I return to the President de Mesmes, who applied himself first to the Prince of Conti; after which, turning himself towards me, he spoke these words: 'What, Sir, you 'refuse audience on the most frivolous pretence to a

* The reason of it is apparent, because of the great superiority of their number.

Herald

'Herald that comes from your King, and'——I knew very well what the second part of the apostrophe would be, and to prevent it, I immediately answered: 'You 'must give me leave, Sir, to look upon motives which 'have been consecrated by an arrest of this company, 'as far from being frivolous.'

Hereupon there arose a clamour in the parliament; the President de Mesmes was taken up for what he had said, which indeed was very imprudent, and certainly served very much, though you may be sure against his intent, to facilitate the Envoy's audience. When I found that the company grew warm, and that the cry was against the President, I left my place upon I do not know what pretence, and I desired Quatresous, a young Counsellor of the inquests, and a man of the most impetuous spirit of all that body, to maintain the skirmish, because I had experienced several times that the properest and surest way of bringing any extraordinary matter to pass in such assemblies, is to stir up the young counsellors against the old. Quatresous performed that task to admiration. He worried the President de Mesmes and the first President, upon account of one la Rabliere, a famous partisan, whom he never failed to bring in, in all his speeches, let the subject he was upon be what it would. The whole chamber of inquests took up warmly Quatresous's defence. The Presidents grew at last weary of these impertinencies. They were forced to come to voting about the Envoy, and notwithstanding the conclusions of the King's council, and the exclamations of the two Presidents, and of many others, it was carried for the giving him audience.

He was immediately admitted, and he was placed next to the table, where he was desired to sit and be covered. He presented the Arch-duke's letter to the parliament, which containcd nothing but credentials. He made afterwards a speech, and said: 'That his 'Imperial Highness, his master, had charged him to 'impart to the company a negotiation which Cardinal 'Mazarin had endeavoured to enter into with his 'Highness since the blockade of Paris; that his Catho-

'lick Majeſty had thought it neither ſafe nor honour-
'able to accept thoſe offers, at a time when it was
'viſible that they were made only with a view of
'having it in his power to oppreſs more eaſily the par-
'liament, which was held in reverence by all nations
'in the world; and when, beſides, no treaty could be
'made with a condemned miniſter, but ſuch as would
'of itſelf be void, and would be the more ſo, becauſe
'it would want the concurrence of the parliament, to
'whom alone belongs the regiſtering and verifying
'treaties of peace, to render them valid and authentic:
'that the Catholick King being unwilling to draw any
'advantage from the preſent poſture of affairs, had
'ordered the Archduke to aſſure the gentlemen of the
'parliament, which he knew all of them to be ſin-
'cerely attached to the true intereſt of his moſt Chri-
'ſtian Majeſty; to aſſure them, he ſaid, that his Ca-
'tholick Majeſty would accept of them with all his
'heart for the arbitrators of the peace, and would
'ſubmit to their determination: that if they agreed
'to this propoſal, he left it to their choice to ſend
'deputies from their body to what place they pleaſed,
'or even to let Paris be the place, and that his Catho-
'lick Majeſty would inceſſantly ſend his deputies thi-
'ther in order only to repreſent his reaſons: that in the
'mean while, and in expectation of their anſwer, he
'had cauſed 18000 * of his ſoldiers to advance on the
'frontiers, to be in a readineſs to help them in caſe
'of need; with an order however, to attempt nothing
'againſt any of the French King's places, though moſt
'of them were in a manner abadoned: that there were
'not 600 men, in Peronne, in St. Quentin, and in le
'Catelet: but that his Catholick Majeſty being will-
'ing to ſhew in this occaſion the ſincerity of his in-
'tentions for procuring a good peace, he engaged his
'word that during the time that a treaty ſhould be on
'foot, he would keep his armies from ſtirring: but
'that if, in the mean while, they might be any way

* Joli ſays that the Envoy offered the parliament the diſpoſal of the whole Spaniſh army.

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'useful to the parliament, they were at their disposal, 'and that they might name, if they thought fit, French 'officers to be at their head, and take all other man- 'ner of precautions which they thought necessary, to 'remove the umbrages that may always be reasonably 'entertained against the conduct of foreigners.'

Before the Envoy was suffered to enter, there had been many disorderly contests in the company, and the President de Mesmes had left nothing undone to charge me with all the blame of a collusion with the enemies of the kingdom. It was easy for him to set this off in the most lively colours, which my different conduct with relation to the King's Herald and the Envoy of Spain, placed in their full light. It is certain that that circumstance looked ugly enough, and when one finds one's self in such a conjuncture, the only remedy is to lie quiet, when what is objected against you is like to make a stronger impression than what you have to answer; and to exert yourself, when your answer is like to make a stronger impression than what has been objected. I followed exactly that rule in this occasion, which was of great concern to me. For though the President de Mesmes pointed me out, with a great deal of design and art, I took no notice of it so long as I had nothing to oppose to him but what the Prince of Conti had spoke in general terms about a peace; for it had been agreed that he should indeed touch that point when he demanded audience for the Envoy, but that he should touch it very gently, for fear of shewing too great a concert with Spain. But after the Envoy had spoke about it himself, and had done it in so obliging a manner for the company, and when I found that his speech had pleased the generality, and had put them in good humour, I took that opportunity to have my revenge of the President de Mesmes. I told him: 'That the respect which I owed the company, had ob- 'liged me to bear with, and to dissemble, all that he 'had said to provoke me; that I had taken particular 'notice of all, though I seemed not to do it; that I 'would have continued in that same dispositon, if the 'company's resolution, which it is never lawful to

'prevent, but which we are always bound to follow, did not now permit me to ſpeak: that it had been 'ordered, though againſt his advice, that the Spaniſh 'Envoy ſhould be admitted, as it had before been or- 'dered, likewiſe againſt his advice, not to admit the 'Herald: that I was unwilling to think that he in- 'tended to confine the company always to follow his 'opinion: that no body reſpected his judgment more 'than I did, but that, reſpect and eſteem ought not 'to deprive one of one's liberty: that I deſired that 'the company would give me leave to expreſs the re- 'ſpect I had for him, by giving him an account, that 'perhaps would ſurprize him, of my ſentiments in 'relation both to the Herald, and to the Envoy, on 'which ſubject he had ſo many times attacked me: 'that as to the Herald, I was forced to own that I was 'ſimple enough to have been near falling into the 'Cardinal's trap, and if Mr. de Brouſſel had not 'opened another advice that carried it, my too great 'zeal had plunged me into a fault that might have 'proved the ruin of the city, and into an action ſuffi- 'ciently acknowledged to be criminal, by the avowed 'approbation given by the Queen to the oppoſite con- 'duct: that as to the Envoy, I owned that if I was 'for admitting him to an audience, it was only becauſe 'I perceived that the generality was inclined that way, 'and that, though in my private judgment I was 'againſt it, I thought it beſt for me to conform be- 'times to the judgment of others, when I knew that 'it would be in vain to conteſt; that thereby, an ap- 'pearance of union and uniformity in the company 'might at leaſt be preſerved.' This humble and mo- deſt way of anſwering the ſharp and cutting words both of the firſt Preſident, and the Preſident de Meſmes, which I had been expoſed to for almoſt a fortnight to- gether, and even that very morning, worked in my behalf more than I am able to expreſs, and took off for a conſiderable while the impreſſion which thoſe two Preſidents had begun to make on the minds of the gentlemen of the parliament, that I deſigned to go- vern the whole company by my cabals. Nothing is

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so dangerous as that impression among all sorts of societies, and if the President de Mesme's passion had not opened me a way to give a tolerable good turn to the two scenes of the Herald and the Envoy, I doubt whether most of those that had approved the excluding the first, and the admitting the second, had not repented their having done so, if they had perceived in what manner they were brought to it. The President de Mesmes would have replied to what I had said, but his words were drowned in the noise that came from those of the Inquests. It was now five in the afternoon: no body had dined, and many had not breakfasted; so the two Presidents received the last blow, which is disadvantageous in these cases.

By the arrest which admitted the Spanish Envoy, it was ordered that he should be desired to give in writing the speech that he had made to the parliament, with his name signed at the bottom: that that writing should be affixed to the Register-book, and that it should be sent to the Queen by a solemn deputation, with assurances of the parliament's fidelity, and with supplications that she would grant peace to her people, and order the King's forces to be removed from about Paris. It was then very late, and every body was sharp set, which has a greater influence in those deliberations than one can imagine. That was the cause, that the last clause in the arrest was like to have been overlooked. The President le Coigneux was the first that perceived the consequence, which made him turn to a good number of counsellors that began to rise, to whom he said: 'Gentlemen, I have something to say 'to the company, I desire you to sit down again: it is 'about a thing wherein Europe's all is concerned.' Every body being set down again, he pronounced with a grave and majestic air, which was not common to Mr. Jugler (for so he was nicknamed) these words, full of sense: 'The King of Spain names us for the arbi-'trators of a general peace; perhaps, he only jests, 'however, the telling of us so, is an honour he does 'us: he offers us forces to be sent to our aid, and in 'that point it is certain that he does not jest, and that

'that offer must be very acceptable. We have heard 'his Envoy, and considering our present state, we 'have not acted wrong in doing so. We have re- 'solved to give an account of that action to the King, 'and we are in the right as to that. But some are 'willing to think that in order to it, it is necessary to 'send the original of the arrest, *with the Envoies* * *pro- 'posals signed by him*, and that is the snare. I declare, 'Sir,' said he, 'turning to the first President, that 'the company has not understood it in this sense, and 'have meant only that a copy of the arrest should be 'sent, but that the original should remain with the Re- 'gister. I wish there had been no cause given to oblige 'people to explain themselves, because there are mat- 'ters on which it is better to speak but by halves. But 'since there is a necessity for it, I shall not scruple to 'say, that if we carry the original, the Spaniards will 'think that we expose to Mazarin's caprice their pro- 'posals to us about a general peace, and even about 'succouring us. When, as if we send but a copy, 'and back it, as the company has very wisely ordered 'it, with our humble supplications about the raising 'the siege, all Europe will see that we keep ourselves 'in a condition to do what the true service of the 'King, and the solid good of the state, require of us, 'supposing the Cardinal blind enough not to make the 'use he ought of this present conjuncture.'

This speech had the company's general approbation: they all said that it was in that manner that the arrest was understood: the gentlemen of the Inquests gave, as they had done before, many brushes to the two Presidents. Martineau, a Counsellor of the Inquests, said publickly, that the proviso of the arrest was, that the Spanish Envoy should be handsomely entertained till the return of the deputies from St. Germains, who were like to bring back nothing but some one of the Cardinal's old come-offs. Charton prayed aloud the Prince of Conti to supply what their parliamentary forms hindered the company from doing. Pontcarré

* These words are added to explain this whole passage.

said,

ſaid, that he was leſs afraid of a Spaniard than of a Mazarinian. In ſhort, it is certain that the Generals ſaw plainly enough that they had no reaſon to fear the parliament's reſenting any ſteps which they ſhould take towards Spain; and Mr. de Bouillon and I had more than enough to give the Spaniſh Envoy full ſatisfaction, by ſetting off to him every circumſtance, even to the minuteſt. He was pleaſed beyond his hopes with what had paſſed, and he diſpatched that very night a ſecond expreſs to Bruſſels, who was guarded on his way thither by five hundred of our horſe for ten leagues together. That expreſs carried the relation of all that had paſſed in the parliament; the articles upon which the Prince of Conti, with the other generals, inſiſted, about their treating with Spain; and the ſort of engagement which I was willing to enter into as to my particular. I ſhall give you the detail of this and of what followed, after I have informed you of what happened that ſame day, which was the 19th of February.

While the ſcene of the Spaniſh Envoy was acting at the parliament, Noirmoutier went out with two thouſand horſe to bring a convoy to Paris, conſiſting of five hundred waggons, all loaded with flower, from Brie-comte-Robert, where we had a garriſon. Having received advice that the Count de Grancey*, who has ſince been Mareſchal of France, was coming from towards Lagny to oppoſe himſelf to it, he detached Mr. de la Rochefoucat with ſeventeen ſquadrons to poſt himſelf at a narrow paſſage through which the enemies were obliged to come. Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, whoſe courage was greater than his experience, was carried by his heat beyond his orders. He left his poſt, and charged the enemies; but having to do with veteran troops, he was ſoon routed, and was much wounded in the throat by a piſtol-ſhot. He loſt there Rozan, brother to Duras: the Marquis de Sillery, his brother-in-law, was made a priſoner: Rachecourt, who was firſt Captain of my regiment of horſe, was dange-

* James Rouxel, Count de Grancey, made Mareſchal of France in 1651.

rouſly wounded; and the convoy had been loſt if Noirmoutier had not come with the reſt of the forces. He cauſed the waggons to file off towards Villeneuve St. George; he marched with the troops in good order in the great road on the ſide of Groſbois, in ſight of Grancey, who thought not fit to hazard the paſſing a bridge which he met before him upon the road. Noirmoutier joined the waggons in the plain of Creteil, and without loſing one of them, brought them into Paris, where he did not arrive till eleven at night.

I have already told you, that Mr. de Bouillon and I, jointly with the other Generals, had engaged the Spaniſh Envoy to diſpatch an expreſs to Bruſſels, which went away at midnight. Immediately after that, we ſat down to ſupper at Mr. de Bouillon's, he, the Ducheſs, and myſelf. The Ducheſs was naturally very gay with thoſe ſhe might be free with, and the ſucceſs which we had had that day having encreaſed her gaity, ſhe told us that ſhe intended to be very merry. She ordered all the ſervants to retire, and ſhe kept only Briquemaut, Captain of the Duke de Bouillon's guards, in whom they both put a great truſt. The truth is, that ſhe had a mind to ſpeak freely about the ſtate of our affairs, which ſhe fancied to be good. I would not undeceive her ſo long as we ſtaid at table, for fear of ſpoiling both her's and the Duke de Bouillon's ſupper, this laſt being ill of the gout. But ſupper being over, I ſhewed them that nothing was more nice than the ſituation in which we were; that if the party to which we were joined had been but an ordinary party, that had the whole kingdom as favourably inclined to it as it was to us, we ſhould infallibly rule the roaſt. But that the parliament, in which in one ſenſe conſiſted our greateſt ſtrength, proved in two or three our weakeſt ſide: that though they ſeemed there ſo much in earneſt, their inclination was in the bottom for a reconciliation with the court, of which they gave ſhrewd ſigns on every occaſion: that even in what had paſſed there this day we had had need of all our ſkill to prevent their putting a halter about their own necks: not but that I owned that what we had brought them

them to, was of great ſervice to make the Spaniards believe that that company was not ſo unapproachable as they had imagined; but that it muſt likewiſe be owned, that if the miniſter acted wiſely, the court would reap a great advantage from the parliament's conduct, by making uſe of the ſubmiſſion which that company ſhewed in ſending an account of what had paſſed touching the Spaniſh Envoy, as of a motive for coming off handſomely from their firſt haughtineſs; and by making uſe likewiſe of the deputation which the parliament had reſolved to ſend in ſo ſolemn a manner, as of a fit means to begin a negotiation: that I made no doubt but that the ill effect of the refuſing an audience to the King's council, ſent to St. Germains by the parliament the next day after the King's removal, would ſerve for an example to induce the court to make a better uſe of the preſent occaſion: that I was the more inclined to think ſo, by the obliging manner in which our excuſes for not admitting the King's herald had been received at Court, though they could not but know there that thoſe excuſes had hardly any foundation: that the firſt Preſident, and the Preſident de Meſmes, who would be at the head of the deputation, would not fail to ſhew Mazarin what his true intereſt was in this conjuncture: that thoſe two Preſidents had no view but what related to their own body, and that provided they might bring the parliament off, they would even be glad to abandon us, by coming to an accommodation, in which, mention indeed would be made of our being made ſafe, but only in words, and not in reality, and in which, by making an end of the civil war, they would ſettle ſlavery.

Madam de Bouillon interrupted me at that word, by ſaying, 'Theſe are inconveniences which ought, me-'thinks, to have been foreſeen before the Envoy's au-'dience, ſince they are all derived from it.' But the Duke replied immediately, 'You have forgot what 'we ſaid very lately upon that ſubject. Have we not 'foreſeen in general theſe inconveniences? But hav-'ing weighed them againſt the neceſſity which we 'thought there was to bring in any manner the Spa-

'nish Envoy and the parliament together, we chose of 'two inconveniencies that which appeared the least to 'us, and I find that the Coadjutor is now seeking for 'some remedy, even to that lesser evil.' 'Tis 'very true, Sir, (replied I) and I shall propose the re'medy that I have in my thoughts, after I have made 'an end of mentioning all the inconveniences that I 'perceive. You have observed how, some days ago, 'Brillac in the parliament, and the President Aubry 'in the council held at the Town-house, made some 'overtures of peace, which the parliament was like to 'have fallen into blindly, and they thought there that 'they had done great matters, in resolving not to de'liberate without the Generals being present. You 'will find that there are many in that company, and 'in the inferior courts, who begin not to pay their 'taxes, and that many others suffer willingly disorders 'to slip into the civil government. The body of the 'people that keep staunch, is the cause that the loosen'ing in the joints is not yet perceived; but that 'loosening in the joints will weaken, and in a little 'time ruin all, if care be not taken to consolidate the 'parts, and to keep them tight together. The heat 'that is in the minds of people, is sufficient to work 'that effect in the beginning. When that heat abates, 'force must take place; but when I speak of force, I 'mean that which is gathered from the respect that 'remains in those from whom the evil which you seek 'to remedy, is most likely to proceed. By what you 'are now transacting with the Spaniards, the parlia'ment may find out, that they ought not to reckon 'themselves to be all in all. Mr. de Beaufort's credit 'and mine with the people, ought to induce that body 'to reckon us for something. But as these views have 'their conveniences, they have likewise their incon'veniences. The correspondence between the Gene'rals and Spain, is not public enough to make such an 'impression upon people's minds, as in one sense would 'be requisite, but which in the whole would prove 'pernicious, if it was made more public. That same 'correspondence on the other side, is not kept secret

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'enough to prevent the parliament from making uſe
'of it to our diſadvantage when occaſion ſerves;
'which however they would ſooner do, if they ſaw us
'left without any protection. As for Mr. de Beau-
'fort's credit and mine with the people, it is better
'able to do the parliament hurt, than to prevent its
'hurting us. If we were of the meaneſt of the people,
'we might perhaps have ſome thoughts of doing what
'Buſſi le Clerc* did at the time of the league, that is,
'to impriſon and deſtroy the parliament. We might
'have the ſame view that the ſixteen had when they
'hanged the Preſident Briſſon†, if we intended to be as
'much dependant on Spain as the ſixteen were. But
'Mr. de Beaufort is grandſon to Henry the Great,
'and I am Coadjutor of Paris: this would turn neither
'to our credit nor our account. And yet it would
'be eaſier for us to do what Buſſi le Clerc and the ſix-
'teen did, than to bring the parliamens to ſuch a be-
'lief of it as might prevent their doing us the harm
'which they will always think they have the power to
'do, till by the effects they are convinced of the con-
'trary. And this is the fate of popular power, which
'is never believed but when it is felt; and it is often
'more profitable, as well as more honourable, to thoſe
'in whom the power is lodged, to have it rather
'believed than felt. This is our caſe. The parlia-
'ment inclines to a peace, which muſt prove very
'unſafe and very ſhameful. We might to-morrow,
'if we pleaſed, make the people riſe up againſt
'them. But is that a game that we ought to play?
'If we take away from the parliament their authority,
'what will become of Paris in a little time? Let us
'turn the tables: if we do not cauſe the people to
'riſe, will the parliament believe that it is in our
'power to bring them to it? Will any thing prevent

* He was a fencing-maſter by trade, and afterwards an attor-
ney at the parliament. He was one of thoſe ſixteen zealots for the
league, who became in ſome meaſure maſters of Paris, which they
had divided into ſixteen wards. He was afterwards forced to fly
to Bruſſels, and to take up there his firſt trade of a fencing-maſter.

† They hanged him upon the 15th of November 1591.

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'the parliament from taking steps towards the court 'that may perhaps ruin them, but not till we are infallibly ruined first? You will perhaps say, that I 'mention many inconveniences, and but few remedies. My answer is, that I have already taken notice of the remedies that are naturally to be found in 'the treaty that is now on foot with Spain, and in the 'manner in which Mr. de Beaufort and I apply ourselves to keep the people in our interest. But perceiving in both these remedies some qualities that 'may prevent their working effectually, I thought myself obliged, Sir, to seek in your ability and long experience for something that may supply those defects. It is for that reason that I have taken the liberty of giving you an account of particulars, which 'you would yourself have perceived at first much more distinctly than I, if your illness had given you leave 'to be present but once or twice at the assemblies of 'the parliament, or at one of the councils held at the 'Town-house.'

Mr. de Bouillon, who was far from thinking that affairs were on that foot, desired that I would set down in writing what I had already said, or had more to say. I did it at that instant, and the next day he gave me a copy of it written by his secretary, which copy I still have by me. Nothing can be greater than Mr. and Madam de Bouillon's surprize and concern, at their hearing from me the true state of our affairs; and indeed my surprize at my finding them in that condition had not been less than theirs. No change ever was more sudden. The Queen's civil and gentle answer to the King's council about the Herald; her protesting from her heart to forgive every body; the colours made use of by Talon, Advocate-general, to set off the Queen's answer, changed in an instant almost every body's mind. 'Tis true, that there were moments wherein they seemed to be returned to their first temper, either by reason of some accidents that happened, or by the management of those that found means to bring them now and then to their first heats. But from that time there was amongst them a settled inclination

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to return to the court. I had obſerved it thoroughly, and I was glad to diſcover it to Mr. de Bouillon (who was the only wiſe man of his profeſſion among the party) that I might adviſe with him what ſteps we were to follow. I ſet a good face upon the matter with all the reſt. I magnified to them the ſmalleſt circumſtances, with almoſt as much care as I had done to the Archduke's Envoy. The Preſident de Meſmes, who through the many bruſhes that had been given him in the two laſt deliberations, had perceived that all was but a flaſh of fire, told the Preſident de Bellievre, that for this time I was made a fool of, and that I had miſtaken the ſhadow for the ſubſtance. The Preſident de Bellievre, to whom I had diſcovered all that I had obſerved, might have undeceived him if he had thought fit; but he was himſelf made a fool of, and laughed at the Preſident de Meſmes, as at a man that was willing to flatter himſelf.

Mr. de Bouillon, after I had left him, which was about two, ſpent his time till five that morning in examining what I had writ down, and ſent me a note to deſire me to be again with him at three in the afternoon. I failed not to go thither, where I found Madam de Bouillon under the utmoſt concern, becauſe the Duke her huſband had aſſured her that all that I had writ was but too well grounded, ſuppoſing the facts that I had mentioned to be true, of which he could not but think I was rightly informed; and that he knew but of one remedy to that evil, which he was ſure I would not only refuſe, but even oppoſe. That remedy was, to let the parliament go on entirely their own way, and even to help them under-hand to take ſteps that might render them odious to the people, to begin from that inſtant to bring them into diſcredit with the public; to play the ſame game in regard to the Town-houſe, the head of which, who was the Preſident le Ferron, Prevoſt-des-Merchands, was already very much ſuſpected by the people; and to take afterwards hold of the firſt favourable opportunity, to ſecure either by impriſonment or exile the perſons of thoſe on whom we could not rely. Theſe were Mr.

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de Bouillon's measures, which he proposed to me without any manner of hesitation, telling me at the same time, that Longueil, who was the man in France that knew the parliament best, and who was with him that same day about noon, had agreed that the only remedy that would prove effectual, would be to think betimes of purging the parliament. This was the word which he used, and I had known him at that single word. There never was a man more peremptory nor more violent, but at the same time no man knew better than he how to cover that violence and peremptoriness with the softest terms. I had already thought of what Mr. de Bouillon proposed, and perhaps upon a better ground than he, because I knew better than he how feasible the thing was. I would not however give him any room to imagine that I had thought of it, because I knew that he had the foible to be pleased with the fancy of having first imagined a thing; and that is the only defect which I have observed in him as to matters of negotiation. After he had sufficiently explained all his thoughts, I desired that I might have leave to set down mine in writing, which I immediately did in this manner.

'I agree that this project may be executed, but I 'think it pernicious in its consequences with regard 'as well to public as private concerns. You will find 'that the same people of whom you have made use for 'pulling down the authority of the magistrates, will 'cease to acknowledge yours, the moment that you 'are obliged to ask of them the same aids which the 'magistrates thought fit to require. The people adored 'the parliament till the war begun. They are still 'for the war, and yet their love for the parliament be-'gins to abate. They fancy to themselves that the 'change is only in respect to some members that are 'Mazarinians: they are mistaken: that alteration 'reaches to the whole company, but it does it only by 'degrees and insensibly. The people grow weary 'sometime before they perceive they do. Their hatred 'to Mazarin supports and covers that weariness. We 'keep peoples spirits brisk and merry, by our lam-

poons

'poons and our ballads; by the noiſe of our drums, 'trumpets, and kettle-drums. But at the bottom are 'taxes paid with the ſame exactneſs that they were the 'firſt weeks; Have we found many perſons that have 'done like you, Sir, or like Mr. de Beaufort and me, 'in ſending their plate to the mint? Have you not ob-'ſerved that ſome who ſtill think themſelves mighty 'zealous for the common cauſe, begin to excuſe in 'ſome particular caſes thoſe that are the leaſt ſo? Theſe 'are ſigns of wearineſs that are the more to be ob-'ſerved, becauſe it is hardly ſix weeks ſince we are 'in action; and what a longer time is like to produce, 'I leave you to judge. The people feel not as yet 'that they are weary, at leaſt 'tis certain that they 'mind it not. They take their wearineſs to be only 'anger, and that anger is againſt the parliament; that 'is, againſt a company which was not above a month 'ſince the people's idol, and in favour of whom they 'have taken up arms. When we have deſtroyed that 'company's authority with the people, when we have 'ſet up our own, and ſettled ourſelves in the room of 'the parliament, we muſt infallibly fall into the ſame 'inconveniences with them, becauſe we ſhall be obli-'ged to follow the ſame meaſures. We ſhall levy taxes 'as they have done, with this only difference, that the 'envy and hatred which we ſhall immediately con-'tract with the beſt ſort of citizens, who are all, in 'one manner or another, attached to the parliament, 'will, as ſoon as we have attacked, leſſened or de-'ſtroyed that company, raiſe in a week's time in the 'reſt of the people the ſame ſpirit of mutiny againſt 'us that has lain ſix weeks dormant before it has be-'gun to appear againſt them. We have a famous 'example of this in the time of the league. The Duke 'de Mayenne, finding in the parliament that ſame 'ſpirit of which we now complain, that always tends 'to join together things contradictory, and to manage 'a civil war, according to the opinion and direction 'of the King's council, grew ſoon weary of that pe-'dantry. He made uſe, though covertly, of the ſix-'teen perſons who commanded the ſeveral wards, in

'order

'order to deſtroy that company. But he was afterwards obliged to hang four of theſe ſixteen for their too great attachment to Spain. What he acted however in this occaſion, with an intent to make himſelf leſs dependant on the Spaniards, increaſed the need he had of their aid, to maintain himſelf againſt the parliament, whoſe power began to revive. What were the conſequences of theſe ſteps he took? Mr. de Mayenne was thereby obliged to ſign a treaty, which gave occaſion to the following age to ſay of him, that he underſtood neither how to make peace nor war. This was the fate of Mr. de Mayenne, that is, of the head of a party formed for the defence of religion, and cemented by the blood of Meſſieurs de Guiſe, generally looked upon as the Maccabees of their time; and of a party beſides that had ſpread itſelf through the whole kingdom. Are we arrived to that point? Is it not in the power of the court to take from us to-morrow any pretence to a civil war, by the expulſion of Mazarin, and the raiſing of the ſiege? The provinces, you will ſay, begin to ſtir; but their motion is not ſuch that it ought to hinder us from applying ourſelves more earneſtly than ever to make Paris our chief reſource. Taking this for granted, do you think it wiſe to cauſe a like diviſion in our party, as proved the ruin of that of the league, which was better formed, better ſettled, and much more conſiderable than ours can pretend to be? Madam de Bouillon will tell me again, that I do nothing but enlarge upon the inconveniences, without mentioning any remedy: here follows mine.

'I will ſay nothing of the treaty which you are projecting with Spain, nor of our keeping the people ſteady, becauſe we agree that both theſe are neceſſary. But another expedient is come into my head, which I think is extremely proper to oblige the parliament to have for us all the regard that is requiſite. We have an army, which ſo long as it is kept within the city walls, will be looked upon only as part of the people. There is not one counſellor of the Inqueſts but thinks that he is at leaſt as much maſter of

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'that army as the Generals. I was saying last night, 'that popular power is never believed until it is felt, 'because those in whose hands that power ought na- 'turally to lodge, by reason of their character, love to 'flatter themselves with the fancy that they possess it 'still when they have really lost it. Do but reflect upon 'what has lately happened at court. Was there a 'minister or a courtier, that till the moment the barri- 'cadoes were set up, did not ridicule what was said of 'the people's disposition for the parliament? And yet 'there was not a minister or courtier, but might have 'foreseen that revolution by infallible signs. One 'would think however that the barricadoes would 'have convinced them: but has that done it? Has it 'prevented the court from besieging Paris, upon the 'thought that the people's humour, that proved strong 'enough to bring them to a commotion, would never 'carry them so far as the supporting a war? What 'has been done from the beginning of the siege might 'have undeceived them: are they undeceived? Has 'not the Queen persons about her that tell her every 'day that the best sort of citizens are for the court, 'and that none but a hired mob are of the parliament's 'side? I have told you the reason why men are apt to 'flatter and to cheat themselves in these matters. What 'has happened to the court, happens now to the par- 'liament. They might observe in the people's mo- 'tion a shadow at least of their power: and they 'might foresee by their beginning to murmur at them, 'and by their growing madder and madder for Mr. de 'Beaufort and me, that that shadow will soon become 'a substance. But do they observe and foresee this? 'Not at all. They will not see it until they feel it 'by their being really and actually attacked and 'crushed. Any thing less than that will appear in 'their eyes only a vain and insignificant attempt 'against them, that will serve but to incense them, and 'if they see us relent they will actually push us, and 'by doing so, they will force us to crush them in good 'earnest. I have already shewed that we should not 'find our account in that. Our interest is rather not

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'to hurt them, for fear of dividing the party, and yet 'to act in a manner that may convince them that their 'good and ours are inseparable. The best means in 'my opinion for performing this is to draw our army 'out of Paris; to find some post for it free from the 'enemy's attacks, and from whence, however, it may 'cover our convoys; and to induce the parliament to 'solicit themselves the drawing out the army, that 'they may mistrust nothing of our design, till their 'knowing it is for our advantage. That precaution 'added to the others on which you have already re-'solved, will put that company, without hardly per-'ceiving it, to the necessity of acting in concert with 'us, and then the favour of the people, whereby only 'we may keep the parliament united to us, will no 'longer appear a shadow to that company, when they 'see it supported, and if I may say so, embodied by 'an army which they will cease to think they have 'the mastery of.'

This is what I wrote upon the table in Madam de Bouillon's closet, and what I read both to the Duke and to her. I observed, that when I came to the place where I proposed the drawing out the army, she made a sign to the Duke, who, as soon as I had done reading, took her aside, and talked to her for near half a quarter of an hour. He then said to me: 'You are 'so well informed of the state of Paris, and I am so 'little acquainted with it, that you must excuse my 'speaking but imperfectly upon that subject. I am 'going to fortify your reasons by discovering a thing 'to you, provided that you will promise upon your 'salvation to keep it hid from all the world, but 'chiefly from Mademoiselle de Bouillon *.' After this he went on and said: 'Mr. de Turenne writes us 'word, That he is upon the point of declaring for 'the party, and that only two Colonels in his army 'put him to some trouble, but that in less than a week's 'time he is resolved to make sure of them one way or 'other, and that he will then immediately march to 'us. He desires us to keep this a secret to every body

* Charlotte de la Tour, who died unmarried in 1662.

'except

'except to yourself.'——'But his governante (added Madam de Bouillon in a passion) 'has ordered us to 'keep it a secret even to you too.' The governante she meant was Mademoiselle de Bouillon, her sister-in-law, an old maid, whom Mr. de Turenne put an absolute trust upon, and whom Madam de Bouillon hated entirely. Mr. de Bouillon went on and said: 'What 'think you now of the matter? Are we not masters 'both of the court and of the parliament?' 'I shall 'not be ungrateful (answered I) I shall repay the 'trust you repose in me, by discovering to you a secret 'of less importance, but yet of no little weight. I 'was just now shewed a letter from the Mareschal 'd'Hocquincourt * to Madam de Montbazon, that con-'tains only these words: *The beautifullest of women may 'reckon Peronne † hers.* I have likewise received this 'morning a letter from Bussy Lamet, that says that 'we may reckon upon Mezieres ‡.' Madam de Bouillon, transported with joy at this, clasped me about the neck: we now thought ourselves sure of every thing; and in a quarter of an hour's time, we resolved upon all the particular measures which we were to observe, according to the plan which you have already seen.

I must not omit in this place, a saying of Mr. de Bouillon's: as we were examing the means how to draw the army out of Paris, without giving any mistrust to the parliament; Madam de Bouillon, who was (as I said before) transported with joy at so much good news, could now give no attention to our discourse: and Mr. de Bouillon (observing that what I had been told about Mr. de Turenne, worked likewise upon me so as to make me mind but little what we were about) said to me with some kind of anger: 'I forgive it my 'wife, but I cannot forgive it you.' The old Prince of Orange used to say, *That at the time that we receive*

* Charles de Monchi, Marquis d'Hocquincourt, Governor of Peronne, &c. Mareschal of France in 1651, and killed before Dunkirk in 1658.

† A town in Picardy, upon the river Somme, and at that time one of the keys of France.

‡ A town upon the river Maeze, in the province of Champagne, with a citadel.

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the beſt news about the moſt important matters, we ought then to mind moſt the ſmalleſt matters in hand.

The twenty-fourth of this month of February, thoſe that were deputed by the parliament, and who had the day before received their paſſes, went to give the Queen an account of the audience granted to the Arch-duke's Envoy. The court failed not to make uſe of this opportunity to enter into a negotiation. For although the deputies in their paſſes had not their ſeveral titles given them, but were only called by their family names, yet were they not looked upon at court as having loſt their ſeveral ranks and places. The Queen told them, that they would have done better not to have given the Envoy audience; but that the thing was done and could not be remedied: that it was now time to think of a good peace: that as for her, ſhe was very well diſpoſed towards it: that the Chancellor having been ill for ſome days, ſhe would not fail the day following to give them a fuller anſwer * in writing. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, ſpoke ſtill in a more poſitive manner. They promiſed the Deputies, with whom they had long conferences, to open all the paſſages, as ſoon as the parliament had impowered Deputies to treat.

The ſame day we received information, that the Prince of Condé intended to throw into the river all the flour that was in Goneſſe, and in the neighbouring places, becauſe the country people brought it in abundance into the city. We prevented that deſign: the army marched betwixt nine and ten at night, and ſtood the whole night in order of battle before St. Dennis, to hinder the Mareſchal du Pleſſis, who was there with eight hundred horſe of the Gendarmery, from annoying our convoy. We made uſe on that occaſion of all the carts, waggons, and horſes, that could be found in Paris. The Mareſchal de la Mothe detached himſelf with 1000 horſe, and brought into the city all the proviſions which he found in Goneſſe †, and in all

* That anſwer is inſerted at large in the fourth volume.

† A borough diſtant three leagues from Paris, where by reaſon of the goodneſs of the waters, they bake the beſt bread which is ſold at Paris.

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the adjacent parts, without losing a single man or a single horse. The Queen's Gens d'Armes fell upon our rear, but were repulsed by St. Germain d'Apchon, as far as the river of St. Dennis.

That same day likewise, Flamarin came to Paris, being sent by the Duke of Orleans to condole with the Queen of England upon the death of the King her husband, which had been known but three or four days before. But that was only a pretence for Flamarin's coming, the true cause of which was this: it came into the head of la Riviere, with whom Flamarin was intimate, to establish by his means a correspondence with Mr. de la Rochefoucaut; Flamarin being likewise very familiar with him. I knew at every instant what passed between them, by the means of Madam de Pomereux, with whom Flamarin was in love, and to whom he imparted all his transactions. That gentleman knew that Cardinal Mazarin had told la Riviere, in a manner that this last believed it, that the only obstacle to his being made a Cardinal, lay in the Prince of Conti. Flamarin therefore thought that he could do his friend no greater service than to enter into a negotiation that might dispose things to an union between them. He saw Mr. de la Rochefoucaut upon that subject, whom he found not at all hard to persuade. La Rochefoucaut kept his bed when he saw him, by reason of the wound he had received, which incommoded him much; and he was besides extremely weary of the civil war. He told Flamarin, that he came into it much against his will, and that if he had arrived from Poitou two months before the siege of Paris, he certainly would have prevented Madam de Longueville from engaging in that bad affair, but that I had made use of his absence to embark both the Prince of Conti and her in it: that he had found them too far engaged to make them break off: that his wound was become a new obstacle to the design he had of uniting the Royal Family: that that devil of a Coadjutor was altogether against any peace, and was continually besetting the Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville, in order to shut up all the avenues towards

wards it; and that his illneſs prevented his remedying thoſe evils. Mr. de la Rochefoucaut concerted after this with Flamarin all thoſe meaſures, which, it is thought, obliged afterwards the Prince of Conti to deſiſt from his nomination to the cardinalſhip, and to yield it to la Riviere. I was informed of all theſe ſteps by Madam de Pomereux, and after I had got all the light which I thought neceſſary, I cauſed the Prevoſt-des-Marchands to order Flamarin to depart the town, becauſe the time allowed him by his paſs had been out for ſome days paſt.

The 26th of this month the parliament fell into ſome heats upon the news that was brought them that Grancey had beſieged Brie-Comte-Robert, with 5000 foot and 3000 horſe, the greateſt part of the members being moſt ridiculouſly for the hazarding a battle in order to relieve it. It was with a great deal of pains that our Generals could diſſuade them from that deſign. The place was good for nothing, or was at leaſt uſeleſs for many reaſons. Mr. de Bouillon, whom the gout kept at home, ſent his opinion in writing to the company, who appeared on this occaſion more like a mob than any thing elſe. Bourgogne, who commanded in that town, ſurrendered it that ſame day. If he had held out longer, I do not know whether it had been poſſible to prevent the attempting ſome fooliſh thing or other, to appeaſe the impertinent noiſe of theſe bawlers, though it had been done againſt all the rules of war. I made uſe however of this opportunity to bring them to deſire of themſelves, that our army ſhould be no longer kept incloſed within the walls of the town. The Count de Maloze * by my direction told the Preſident Charton, That he knew for certain that the reaſon of our not relieving Brie-Compte-Robert, was the impoſſibility of getting the army out of Paris time enough, and that that had been before the only cauſe of the loſs of Charenton. The Preſident de Meſmes had likewiſe, by my direction, notice given him, as coming from very good hands, of the pretended perplexity in

* Lewis de Bourbon-Maloze.

which

which I was, becauſe that of the one ſide I plainly perceived that the loſs of thoſe two places, of Brie-Comte-Robert, and of Charenton, was imputed by the public to the keeping obſtinately our army ſhut up within the walls of Paris; and that on the other ſide, I could not abide the thought of removing the ſoldiers ever ſo little from my ſight, becauſe they were ſo many hirelings that cried me up both in the ſtreets and in the court-halls. All this train took fire. The Preſident Charton ſpoke now of nothing elſe but of encamping: the Preſident de Meſmes, at the end of every ſpeech he made, preſſed upon the neceſſity of not leaving our army uſeleſs. The Generals ſeemed to be embarraſſed at that propoſal, and I ſeemed as if I would have contradicted it. We were in that manner preſſed for eight or ten days before we yielded, after which, we conſented to do what we wiſhed more by much than any of thoſe that were ſo preſſing.

Noirmoutier went that ſame day out of Paris with fifteen hundred horſe, and brought from Dammartin and the neighbouring places an immenſe quantity of corn and flour. The Prince of Condé could not be every where: he had not horſe enough to make himſelf maſter of the country round about, which aſſiſted Paris. There was more corn brought in than was ſufficient to ſubſiſt the town for ſix weeks, though by the knavery of the bakers, and the want of care of the town-officers, it was not managed ſo well as it ought.

The 27th, the firſt Preſident made his report to the parliament of what had paſſed at St. Germains, and the Generals were deſired to be preſent there in the afternoon to deliberate upon the propoſitions made by the court. Mr. de Beaufort and I had much ado to reſtrain the people from entering into the grand chamber: they were extremely incenſed at the deputies, whom they threatened to throw into the river, ſaying, that they had had conferences with Mazarin, and had betrayed them. We were forced to make uſe of all our credit with them before we could appeaſe them; and the jeſt was, that the parliament thought us the authors of all that tumult. *Credit with the people is*

attended with that evil, that it makes us answerable for all that they do even against our consent. The experience which we had of this that morning, obliged us to desire the Prince of Conti to send the parliament word that he could not possibly be with them that afternoon, and to pray them to put off the deliberation till the next morning. We thought in the mean while, that it would be proper for us to assemble at Mr. de Bouillon's, and consult there together what was best for us to do in the present conjuncture, when we found ourselves betwixt the parliament that was for a peace, the people that murmured because they were for a war, and the Spaniards that might be at our cost either for peace or war, as their interest led them. We were not much less embarrassed at this meeting than we had feared to have been at the parliament. The Prince of Conti, directed by Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, spoke as if he had been for war, but his actions shewed that he inclined to peace. The part which I saw him play there, and what I knew of Flamarin, left me no room to doubt but that he was expecting some answer from St. Germains. The least of what Mr. d'Elbeuf proposed, was to send at once the whole body of the parliament to the Bastille. Mr. de Bouillon had not said any thing in relation to Mr. de Turenne, whose declaring for us was not as yet made public. I durst not insist upon the reasons that made me judge it necessary to let every thing run on gently, till our having a camp formed at some distance from the city, and our hearing both of Mr. de Turenne's being on the march with his army, and of the Spaniards advancing to our frontiers, should have put us in a condition to make the parliament act in the manner we pleased. Mr. de Beaufort, who was not a person fit to be intrusted with any secret of importance, because of Madam de Montbazon that could not be relied on, was at a loss why the credit which both he and I had with the people, should not be made use of on this occasion. Mr. de Bouillon might have found, more than any body else, his private account in the public combustion, and for that reason he sided with me no further than he thought it decent for him to be for the moderate way, which

was

was not to disturb by any stirring of the people what was to be debated the next day at the parliament. As there was not the least doubt to be made of the company's embracing even with precipitancy the offers which the court made of treating, nothing hardly could be opposed to the reasons of those that were for stirring up the people, as being the only means for preventing the doings of the parliament. Mr. de Beaufort came full sail into it. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had that moment received a very scornful letter from la Riviere, played the bully. You may imagine what my trouble was, when I reflected how inconvenient it would prove for me, either not to prevent a commotion that would infallibly be laid to my charge, or to oppose it with those to whom I durst not discover the most solid reasons which I had to disapprove it. The first course that I took was to side with the Prince of Conti, in his uncertain and ambiguous manner of speaking. But when I perceived that that kind of nonsense might indeed hinder the resolving to stir up the people, but would not be able to bring us to a resolution of opposing any commotion, which was however a thing necessary, considering how they were disposed, and how easy it would be for any one, the least in their favour, to heat and to inflame them, I thought that it was no longer time to stand wavering. I declared myself publickly: I explained to them all the very same reasons which I had before made use of in private against it to Mr. de Bouillon: I insisted that nothing new should be done, till by Fuensaldagne's answer we were certainly informed of what we might expect from the Spaniards; and this reason served me instead of the others which I durst not mention, and which had more naturally occurred from Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, and from our project of encamping our forces at some small distance from Paris.

I experienced in this occasion, *that one of the greatest inconveniences of a civil war, is that one ought to study with a greater care what is to be hid from one's friends, than what is to be done against one's enemies.* I had luck enough to bring the company to my opinion, because

Mr. de Bouillon came again over it, being convinced that in this conjuncture, any commotion whatsoever must be fatal to its authors. But what he told me upon that subject after the company was retired, made me see plainly that as soon as our army was encamped, that our treaty with Spain was concluded, and that Mr. de Turenne had declared for us, he was resolved to get free from the parliament's yoke, or rather its pedantry. I told him that as for my part I was ready to join with him for that purpose, when Mr. de Turenne had once declared; but that he might easily judge that till that time, I could not disunite myself from the parliament, though I plainly saw myself ruined by it, because I was at least sure of preserving my honour by keeping joined to a body, whose steps any private person can hardly be thought in the wrong to follow. Whereas should I contribute to its ruin, before we had, to supply that want, a party that was French in the bottom, and that had nothing to make it odious, I might very easily be reduced to become at Brussels a copy of the exiles of the league. But that as for him he might, better than I, find his account in it, from his capacity in war and the settlements which he might expect from the Spaniards; that he ought however to remember the Duke d'Aumale *, who came to nothing when he was reduced only to the protection of Spain; that it was therefore necessary as well for him, as for me, to have a party within the kingdom that might be relied upon, before we turned our thoughts towards leaving the parliament; and that we ought even to resolve to bear with that company till we saw what would become of the Spaniards march, of the encampment of our army, and of Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, which last was the capital point, because it brought over to us a body of troops that had no manner of foreign dependency, but was purely French, and able of itself to carry on the business. This last

* Charles of Lorrain, Duke d'Aumale, who being dissatisfied with the peace which the Duke de Mayenne, the head of the league, concluded with King Henry the Fourth of France, retired to the Spaniards, and died in the Low-Countries in 1619 or 1620.

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consideration brought Madam de Bouillon, who came to us as soon as the company was gone, to be of that opinion. She at first appeared mighty angry that the company was parted without resolving upon making themselves masters of the parliament. 'I well knew,' said she to Mr. de Bouillon, 'and I had told you as 'much, that you would not resist the Coadjutor.' 'Would you, Madam,' answered he, 'desire the Co-'adjutor to venture, upon our score, the becoming 'Fuensaldagne's chaplain? Is it possible that you can-'not comprehend what he has been preaching to you 'for three days together?' I spoke in my turn, and said to Madam de Bouillon, without any heat: 'Do 'not you agree, Madam, that we shall be able to take 'more certain measures, when our camp is formed, 'when we have an answer from the Arch-duke, and 'when Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us shall be-'come public?' Ay,' but says she, 'the parliament 'will do things to-morrow, that will render useless all 'that you are waiting for.' 'No, Madam,' replied I, 'let the parliament do what they please, I maintain 'if what we wait for arrives, we shall be in a condi-'tion to laugh at all that they can do.' 'Do you give 'me your word for that, said she? 'More than that, 'Madam,' answered I, 'I am ready to sign it with my 'blood.' 'That you shall do immediately,' cried she. At that she bound my thumb with silk, whatever the Duke could say. She pricked it with a needle, and drew some blood from it, with which she made me sign the following words: 'I promise her Grace the 'Dutchess of Bouillon, to remain united with the 'Duke her husband against the parliament, in case 'that Mr. de Turenne advances with the army under 'his command, within twenty leagues of Paris, and 'declares himself in favour of that city.' Mr. de Bouillon burnt that paper after it was signed, but joined himself to me, to convince his Lady that if what we waited for came to pass, we should be able to stand our ground, whatever the parliament did; but if it did not come to pass, we should remain with this satisfaction, not to have occasioned disorders from which

I could reap nothing but ſhame and ruin, and wherein the houſe of Bouillon could meet with no advantages but what were very doubtful.

We had almoſt done talking, when a note was brought me from the Vicar of St. Paul's, to inform me that Toucheprez, Captain of Mr. d'Elbeuf's guards, had ſcattered ſome money among the journeymen of the Rue St. Antoine, that they might go the next day to cry down the peace in the court-hall. Mr. de Bouillon in concert with me, writ at that inſtant to Mr. d'Elbeuf theſe few words upon the back of a card, to expreſs his haſte: 'There is no ſafety for you to-'morrow at the parliament.' This brought Mr. d'Elbeuf immediately to Mr. de Bouillon's, to know the meaning of it. Mr. de Bouillon told him, that he had juſt then notice given him that the people had a fancy that both Mr. d'Elbeuf and he held intelligence with Cardinal Mazarin, and that he thought it therefore injudicious to venture the next day among the crowd which the parliament's deliberation would infallibly bring into the court-hall. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who knew that he had but few for him among the people, but who likewiſe knew that he ſhould not be much ſafer by keeping at home than going abroad, ſaid, that he was afraid that his not appearing upon ſuch an occaſion would be taken notice of to his prejudice. Mr. de Bouillon, who had no other purpoſe in this than to put him in fear of a commotion, took hold of his words to make the more ſure of him by another means. He ſaid that he was perſuaded as well as he, that it would be beſt for him to go to the parliament, but that he ought not to go thither like a dupe; that his beſt way therefore, was to go thither in company with me, upon which the Duke de Bouillon deſired that the matter might be left to his management, promiſing to find out a way that ſhould appear unaffected even to me for our going together.

The next day, which was the 28th of February, I went to the parliament with Mr. d'Elbeuf, and I found in the hall a crowd of people, crying: *Long live the Coadjutor: no peace; no Mazarin.* Mr. de Beaufort happened

happened to come in at that same time by the great stair-case, and as his name was made to resound with mine, that gave occasion to think that what was but a mere effect of chance, had been projected in concert by us, with an intent to disturb the parliament's deliberations. In that manner, and because *in cases of sedition, what makes it to be believed, serves to increase it*, we were like to do in an instant what we had laboured to prevent for above a week.

The first President, and the President de Mesmes, who jointly with the other deputies had suppressed the answer * which they had in writing from the Queen, by reason of some expressions in it which they thought too harsh, and which they were afraid might exasperate peoples minds, set off with all the fine words they could, the obliging manner in which the Queen had spoke to them. After this, they went about to deliberate, and after some contests relating to the power that should be given to the deputies, it was resolved that they should have a full and intire power; that the place which the Queen should please to appoint for a conference should be accepted of; that four Presidents, two Counsellors of the Grand Chamber, one of each Chamber of Inquests, one of the Chamber of Requests, either one or two of the Generals, two Counsellors out of each of the other sovereign Courts, with the Prevost-des-Marchands, should be named for deputies; that notice of this should be given to the Duke de Longueville, and to the deputies of the parliament of Roüen and of Aix; and that the King's Council should be sent the next day, to demand the opening of the passages which the Queen had promised to grant. The President de Mesmes, surprised to find no manner of opposition either from the Generals or me, said to the first President: 'Here is a mighty harmony! But 'I fear the sequel of this pretended moderation.' I believe that he was still more surprised at what passed, after the usher of the court had acquainted the company that the people threatened to kill all those that

* That answer is put down at length in the Fourth Volume.

ſhould vote for a conference before Mazarin was expelled the kingdom. I went out with Mr. de Beaufort to oblige the ſeditious to retire, and the parliament roſe and went away without any manner of danger. I was ſurpriſed myſelf at the eaſineſs we met with on this occaſion, but it brought the parliament to a pitch of boldneſs that was like to undo them.

The ſecond of March, Champlatreux (ſon to the firſt Preſident) brought to the parliament, by his father's direction, a letter from the Duke of Orleans, and another from the Prince of Condé, wherein both of them expreſſed their joy for the ſtep that the parliament had taken, but wherein, at the ſame time, they denied that the Queen had promiſed the opening of the paſſages. I cannot repreſent the rage with which the company in general, and each particular member, were ſeized at the haaring of this news. The firſt Preſident was ſhocked at this proceeding: he ſpoke of it with a great deal of anger to the Preſident de Neſmond, whom the parliament had ſent to him to deſire him to write about it to the two Princes. Word was ſent to the King's council, who were gone that morning to St. Germains to get the neceſſary paſſes, that they ſhould declare that the parliament would not enter into any conferences till they had made good at court the promiſe made to the firſt Preſident. I thought this was a fit time to put the company upon taking ſome ſteps which might convince the court that all their courage was not loſt. I left my ſeat, under pretence of going towards the fire, and I deſired Pelletier, brother to la Houſſaye, to ſpeak to old Brouſſel from me, and to tell him, that conſidering how little the court was to be truſted, I adviſed him to propoſe the raiſing of more troops, and the giving out more commiſſions. That propoſal was received with applauſe; the Prince of Conti was deſired to deliver them, and ſix counſellors were named under him to go about it.

The third of March they applied themſelves with eagerneſs to oblige people to pay their taxes, which nobody cared now to do, expecting that the conference would end in a peace. Mr. de Beaufort made uſe of this

this conjuncture, by the advice of the Duke de Bouillon, the Mareſchal de la Mothe, and myſelf, to trie to give the parliament more life. He ſpoke to them in his own dialect, againſt the contravention, adding, that he promiſed them, both in his and the other generals names, to open all the paſſages in a fortnight's time, if the company was pleaſed to come to a firm reſolution not to ſuffer themſelves to be any longer amuſed by deceitful propoſals, which ſerved only to ſuſpend the motion in which the whole kingdom was, and its declaring in favour of the capital city, which it had done before now, had it not been for the rumour of their negotiations and conferences. The effect which theſe few words had upon every body's mind is not to be expreſſed. It was generally expected that they would have brok the treaty. But the thing took quite another turn in a few moments. The King's council came back from St. Germains. They brought paſſes for the deputies, and words without any meaning for the ſubſiſting of Paris. For inſtead of openg the paſſages, they granted leave for one hundred muids * of corn to enter every day into the town. They even left out affectedly the word, *every day*, in their firſt paſs, that they might explain it as they found it convenient. Theſe paſſes however were enough to ſatisfy the parliament. They no longer remembered what they had ſaid a quarter of an hour before, and the deputies prepared themſelves to go the very next day to Ruel, which was the place that the Queen had appointed for the conference.

We had a meeting the evening of that ſame day at Mr. de Bouillon's, where there were preſent the Prince of Conti, Mr. de Beaufort, Mr. d'Elbeuf, the Mareſchal de la Mothe, Mr. de Briſac, the Preſident de Bellievre, and myſelf, to conſider whether it was fit for the Generals to ſend deputies. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had a mind to be himſelf deputed, inſiſted much upon ſending. Nobody elſe was for it, becauſe we thought it much the beſt to be left with a full liberty either to

* A muid of corn ought to weigh 2640 pounds.

do or not to do it as occaſion ſhould require. Beſides, what could have been more injudicious than for us to ſend to the conference at Ruel, when we were upon the point of concluding a treaty with Spain, and every moment telling the Spaniſh Envoy, that the reaſon for our ſuffering the conference was, becauſe it was in our power to break it by means of the people the moment we pleaſed? Mr. de Bouillon, who began to go abroad, and who had that very day been to mark out the poſt where our troops ſhould incamp, propoſed the thing to the company, as if he had thought of it but in the morning. The Prince of Conti wanted reſolution either to approve of it, becauſe he had not conſulted his Oracle *, or to be againſt it, becauſe he durſt not oppoſe Mr. de Bouillon in any propoſal he made relating to war. Meſſieurs de Beaufort, de la Mothe, de Briſſac, and de Bellievre, whom he had let into the ſecret, were mightily for it. Mr. d'Elbeuf was againſt it, and gave ſorry reaſons for his opinion. I joined myſelf to him, to cover our deſign the better, ſaying, that the parliament might have reaſon to complain that ſuch a thing was done without their having a hand in it. To that Mr. de Bouillon anſwered in a ſeeming anger, that far from that, the parliament had been complaining for three weeks together, that neither the Generals nor the troops durſt attempt the ſhewing their heads out of the walls of the city; that he took no notice of the noiſe they made upon that account ſo long as he thought there was danger for our troops to incamp, but that having found a poſt where they might lie as ſafe as in Paris, and be of more uſe, he thought it reaſonable to give the public ſatisfaction in that point.

The next day being the 4th of March, the deputies went to Ruel, and our army got out of Paris, and marched to the camp that was formed between the Marne and the Seine, the foot being poſted at Villejuifve and Bicerſtre, and the horſe at Vitri and at Ivry. A bridge of boats was built upon the river at the

* Mr. de la Rochefoucaut.

Port-

Port-à-l'Anglois, with redoubts that had cannon in them. Thoſe of the parliament that were well inclined to the party, were willing to think that our army would act with much more vigour, and thoſe that were for the court fancied to themſelves that the people wanting now the army to encourage them, would grow more ſupple. Even at St. Germains they fancied the ſame, and the Preſident de Meſmes magnified mightily there what he had ſaid in the Parliament to oblige the Generals to draw their army out of the walls of Paris. Senneterre, who was the man of the court that underſtood things the beſt, and who found out quickly for what end we had done it, was not long before he undeceived them. He told the firſt Preſident and the Preſident de Meſmes, that they were both made fools of, and would quickly perceive it. I muſt, for the ſake of truth, take notice here of the very words that gentleman uſed, which will ſhew what his capacity was. The firſt Preſident, who was a plain down-right man, that never extended his views to two things at once, hearing of the camp at Villejuifve, and ſaying with a mighty joy, that the Coadjutor would now want many of his hirelings to cry him up in the Court-hall; and the Preſident de Meſmes having added, ay, and many of his cut-throats; Senneterre anſwering them both, ſaid theſe words; 'It is not, 'gentlemen, the Coadjutor's Intereſt to kill you, but 'to ſubject you: the people alone would ſerve him 'for the firſt turn: the camp will ſerve him admirably 'well for the ſecond. If he is not an honeſter man 'than he is thought here, the civil war will laſt a 'long time.' The Cardinal owned the next day that Senneterre was in the right, becauſe the Prince of Condé found that our army that was not to be attacked it the poſt it was in, would be able to do him more hurt than if it had remained in the city, and becauſe we began to ſpeak higher than uſual in the parliament.

We had an occaſion offered us to do it the very afternoon of the day on which the deputies left Paris, which was, as I have ſaid, the 4th of March. They

got to Ruel by four in the afternoon, and at their coming they were told, that Cardinal Mazarin was of the number of those whom the Queen had named to assist at the conference. The deputies insisted, that after what the company had done against him, they would not confer with him. Mr. le Tellier told them, by the Duke of Orleans's order, that the Queen thought it strange that the parliament was not satisfied to treat with their King as with an equal, but would even limit his authority so far as to assume the liberty of excluding the deputies he named. The first President would not yield, nor the court neither, so that they were upon the point of breaking off. We had notice given us of this by the President le Coigneux and Longuille, with whom we had a private correspondence. Our answer to them was that they should by no means yield, and that they should even shew as in confidence to the President de Mesmes and to Menardeau, who were both great dependants on the court, the end of a letter wherein I had writ these words to Longueil by way of postscript; 'We have taken our measures, and 'are in a condition to speak more roundly than we 'have hitherto thought fit to do; and this moment 'after my letter was writ) I have heard a piece of 'news which obliges me to tell you by way of advice, 'that the parliament will undo themselves if they do 'not go very wisely to work.' This, added to some discourse which we had held on the first of March in the Great Chamber, being by the fire-side, obliged the deputies to keep firm in refusing to admit the Cardinal to the conference, which article was so odious to the people, that we had lost all manner of credit with them had we suffered it; and if the deputies had yielded, we had been necessitated to shut the gates against them at their coming to Paris. The court relented when they found that the first President and his colleagues were in earnest about coming back, having demanded a convoy for that purpose. The Duke of Orleans sent for the first President and the President de Mesmes. They sought for some expedients, and they agreed that two persons of the King's side, and two of the deputies,

puties, ſhould meet at the Duke of Orleans, and conſer there about the propoſals made by either ſide; which conference they ſhould report to the other deputies reſpectively. This medium, which did not eaſe the Cardinal of his vexation for not conſering with the parliament, and which obliged him to leave Ruel, and to return to St. Germains, was joyfully accepted.

I ſhall not fail to take notice of the principal deliberations that paſſed during the whole conference, which I ſhall mention in their order, together with what paſſed at that ſame time in the parliament, intermixing with it what other incidents may have relation with what paſſed either at the parliament or at the conference.

The fifth of March arrived at Paris Don Franciſco Pizarro, a ſecond Envoy from Flanders, who brought with him the Archduke's and the Count de Fuenſaldagne's anſwer to Don Joſeph d'Illeſcas's diſpatches. He likewiſe brought with him a full power to treat with every one, with private inſtructions for Mr. de Bouillon of fourteen ſides of paper cloſe writ, beſides a very obliging letter which he brought likewiſe from the Archduke to the Prince of Conti, and a billet for me from the Count de Fuenſaldagne very well turned, but at the ſame time very ſubſtantial. The Count ſaid that the King his maſter declared that he would not confide in my promiſe, but would put an entire truſt in what I ſhould promiſe Madam de Bouillon. The inſtructions which I have mentioned expreſſed the perfect confidence he repoſed in me, and I found out the Duke and Dutcheſs of Bouillon's hand in Fuenſaldagne's characters.

Two hours after the arrival of this ſecond Envoy, we all met at the Town-houſe in the Prince of Conti's apartment, in order to come to a final reſolution, and the ſcene there was curious enough. The Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville, acting as Mr. de la Rochefoucaut ſuggeſted to them, were willing to bind themſelves to Spain, almoſt without any reſtriction; and becauſe their meaſures with the court, which they thought

thought to have brought to pass by the means of Flamarin, came to nothing, they run headlong into another extreme. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had no other view than that of getting money, was for any thing that looked that way. Mr. de Beaufort, inspired by Madam de Montbazon, who meant to sell him dear to the Spaniards, made a scruple to sign a treaty with the avowed enemies of the kingdom. The Mareschal de la Mothe declared, that he could come to no resolution without the concurrence of Mr. de Longueville, and Madam de Longueville doubted much that her husband would concur in this. These were the same persons who a fortnight before had unanimously resolved to ask for a full power from the Archduke in order to treat with him. Mr. de Bouillon told them, that he did not imagine that they could be in the least suspence about treating, after the steps which they had taken towards the Archduke: that he desired them to remember that they had all told his Envoy, that they staid but for a full power, and for the hearing his propofals, in order to sign a treaty with him: that the Archduke had granted all that they had asked, in the gallanteſt manner possible: that he went further, by causing his troops to march before any treaty was signed, and by his leaving Brussels, and marching himself to their relief: that he begged they would consider that the least step backwards, after such advances, might oblige the Spaniards to enter into measures as much against our safety as our honour: that the so ill concerted steps which the parliament took, gave us every day just reason to fear their abandoning of us: that but a few days ago I had told them and convinced them, that Mr. de Beaufort's credit and mine with the people was fitter to do a sort of harm, which it was against our interest to do, than to put the party upon the foot we wanted: that he owned that the encamping of our forces would make us now be more regarded than we were before, but that those forces without some other potent help, at least in the beginning, were insufficient to make the party be thought as considerable as it ought to be: that it was therefore necessary to come

to

to a treaty with the Archduke, and even to finish it, but not before we had well considered upon what foot to do it: that the Spanish Envoys brought us indeed Carte-blanche, but that our business was to examine carefully in what manner we should fill it up: that they promised us every thing, because in a treaty the strongest side may promise whatever they please, but that the weakest side must be much more reserved, and must never promise any thing but what they are able to perform: that he was acquainted with the Spaniards, and had had to do with them before: that they were the people in the world with whom it was most necessary chiefly at first to preserve one's credit: that he should therefore be extremely sorry that their Envoy should perceive the least glimpse either of Mr. de Beaufort and of the Mareschal de la Mothe's backwardness, or of the too great forwardness of the Prince of Conti and Mr. d'Elbeuf: that he entreated them all to leave him the management for some days of both the Envoys; but as there was no reason that the Prince of Conti and the others should trust him alone, he desired that they would consent to his having me for his assistant, promising not to take one step but jointly with me: that I could not be suspected by any body, because I had publicly declared from the day that the civil war began, that I never intended to gain the least advantage by it, either whilst it should continue, or at the time that a peace was made.

This speech of Mr. de Bouillon's brought every one to be of his mind. We were (he and I) charged to confer with the Envoy, and to give the next day an account to the Prince of Conti and the Generals of what we had done.

From the Prince of Conti's, Mr. de Bouillon brought me to his house, and brought likewise along with us Madam de Bouillon, whom we met at the Townhouse. There we advised in what manner we were to act with the two Envoys, and that was not an easy thing to determine, in a party of which the parliament was the body, when that body was actually in conference with the court. Mr. de Bouillon assured me, that

that the Spaniards would not come to relieve us, before we had engaged not to lay down arms but together with them, that is, not till a general peace should be made. But what safety was there for us to enter into such an engagement, at a time when we were not sure that the parliament would not at every instant conclude a particular peace? 'Tis true, that we might for some time chicane with them, and retard their steps. But we had as yet no confirmation about Mr. de Turenne, whose design was much better known to us than the success it might have. We had besides an account that Anetonville, who commanded Mr. de Longueville's company of Gens-d'Armes, and who was employed by that Duke to negotiate his affairs, had already been secretly at St. Germains. We therefore had no ground that was strong enough on the side of France to build the project upon, of maintaining ourselves without, or rather against the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon (as I said before) might have found his private account in breaking with that body. But I observed, that he hearkened more to justice than to interest, which is a most rare disposition. Madam de Bouillon acted not so right as he in that matter, and these are the words which he made use of in answering her: 'Had I, Madam, the people of Paris at my 'disposal, and should I find my account in taking 'such steps as might be the ruin of the Coadjutor and 'of Mr. de Beaufort, I should for their service and 'my own honour be obliged to make no further use 'of my advantage than what might consist with the 'preventing their ruin. This is not now the case: I 'have no influence with the people; they can govern 'them at their pleasure. You have heard for four 'days together nothing else, but that these gentlemens interest is, not to be instrumental in subjecting the parliament. You ought to be convinced of 'this when you hear one of them say, that he will 'not charge himself to posterity with the shame of 'having delivered Paris into the hands of the Spaniards, only to become the Count de Fuensaldagne's 'chaplain; and when the other must be a greater idiot

'still

'ſtill than he is (if that be poſſible) ſhould he reſolve
'upon becoming a Spaniard by choice, bearing as he
'does the name of Bourbon. The Coadjutor has re-
'peated this ten times over to you theſe laſt four days,
'and this to make you underſtand, that neither he nor
'Mr. de Beaufort are willing to ruin the parliament,
'by means of the people, becauſe they are perſuaded
'that they could not afterwards maintain themſelves
'but by the ſupport of Spain, whoſe care would be in
'a little time to diſcredit them with the public.'
'Have I taken you right (ſaid Mr. de Bouillon to me)'
Then continuing and addreſſing himſelf to me he ſaid;
'This being granted, our buſineſs is to hinder the
'parliament from forcing us to do what we agree
'would be repugnant to our intereſt. We have taken
'meaſures to that effect, which we have room to hope
'will ſucceed. But if by the event we find ourſelves
'deceived, and that the parliament ſigns whether we
'will or no, a peace not only ſhameful but unſafe for
'us, what muſt we then do? I aſk you this the more
'earneſtly, becauſe what we ſhall reſolve upon will
'guide us in what we are now deliberating about,
'which is, in what proper manner we are to proceed
'with the two Spaniſh Envoys in finiſhing our treaty.'
My anſwer to Mr. de Bouillon was in the following
words, which I myſelf writ down in the ſame room we
were in, a quarter of an hour after they were ſpoken.
'If we cannot keep the parliament united to us by
'the meaſures which we have taken, and the motives
'we have ſo many times mentioned, I am of opinion,
'that rather than make uſe of the people to pull that
'body down, it were better to let them go on as their
'inclination leads them, and rely altogether on the
'ſincerity of our intentions. I know that the world,
'which always judges by the event, will not think ſo
'well of thoſe intentions as they deſerve; but I know
'likewiſe that in many occaſions we ought to hope
'for a good event, no otherwiſe than by doing our
'duty. I will not repeat here the reaſons which ſhew
'ſo clearly in my opinion the rules which our duty
'injoins in this conjuncture. They appear plainly,

'and

'and in capital characters, as to what concerns Mr. 'de Beaufort and me. I will not pretend to read or 'explain what concerns you. Give me leave however 'to discover to you an observation that I have made, 'which is, That not one day passes, but at some time 'or other you are as little disposed to become a Spaniard, as I am. But on the other side, we ought, if 'possible, to guard ourselves against the tyranny of the 'ministers whom we have cruelly incensed. My advice is this: I would have the Generals sign, as soon 'as possible, a treaty with Spain, whereby that crown 'engages to bring their army into France as far as 'Pont-à-verre, so that it may be tyed to do nothing, at 'least on this side that post, but in concert with us.'—

I had scarce made an end of pronouncing these last words, when Briquemaut came in and told us that there was in the next room an express from Mr. de Turenne, who had cried aloud, *Good News*, as he came into the court, but would say no more to him as they came up stairs together. The Express, who was a Lieutenant of Mr. de Turenne's regiment, would not tell us his news, but in a set speech, which he did but sorrily. Mr. de Turenne's letter to Madam de Bouillon was very short: one that he wrote to me was not longer; and a paper folded like a memorial, and directed to Mademoiselle de Bouillon, his sister, was writ in cypher. We learned enough however to leave us no room to doubt but that he had declared himself; that his army, which was certainly the best in Europe, had done the like; and that Erlac, Governor of Brisac, who had opposed that design with all his might, had been obliged to retire into that place, with about a thousand or twelve hundred men, which was all that he could draw from the army to his side. A quarter of an hour after the Express was arrived, he remembered that he had a letter for me from the Viscount de Lamet, a near relation, and an intimate friend of mine. His letter was full of all the assurances possible, that things went as well as we could have wished; he added, That he was marching with two thousand horse directly to us, and that Mr. de Turenne was to follow upon a certain day,

and

and to a certain place, with the reſt of the army. Mr. de Turenne gave the ſame account to Mademoiſelle de Bouillion in the paper that was writ in cypher.

I dare ſay, madam, that you are amazed to ſee Mr. de Turenne, who all his life-time had not only been an enemy to faction, but who would never hearken to any thing that ſavoured the leaſt of it, now declare himſelf of a ſudded againſt the court, when he had the King's army under his command, acting therein, I am ſure, in a manner which the Balafré* and the Admiral de Coligni, had conſidered more than once upon. But you will ſtill be more amazed when I have owned to you, That to this day I am at a loſs about the motive that put him upon acting in that manner, and when I have told you, That both the Duke and Dutcheſs of Bouillon have moſt ſolemnly aſſured me, that all that they knew of it was, that what he did was not any-wiſe in regard to them, and that Mademoiſelle de Bouillon, who was the only confident he had, either knew nothing of it herſelf, or always kept it ſecret. The manner in which he behaved himſelf in this affair, which he did not ſtand out for above four or five days, is likewiſe very amazing. I could never learn any thing about it, either from him or from thoſe that failed him. It required a merit as eminent as his was not to be ſullied by an action of this nature; and this example ſhews, That the malignity of vulgar ſouls is not always able to take away from extraordinary men the credit which in ſome occaſions they even deſerve to loſe.

I reaſſume the diſcourſe which I was making to the Duke and Dutcheſs of Bouillon, when I was interrupted by the arrival of Mr. de Turenne's Expreſs.

* Henry, the firſt of the name, Duke of Guiſe, was callad Balafre, or Slaſhed Face, by reaſon of a wound he received in the left cheek at the Battle of Dormans, and of which the ſcar remained ſo long as he lived. The Admiral de Coligni and he had been friends in their youth, but became enemies upon account both of glory and of religion. They were both of them heads of two different parties, the Admiral of that of the Huguenots, and the Duke of Guiſe of that of the league.

'I am

'I am of opinion (continued I) that if the Spaniards 'will engage to come as far as Pont-à-verre, and act 'nothing, at leaſt on this ſide that poſt, but in con- 'cert with us, that we ought to make no difficulty of 'engaging, not to lay down our arms till a general 'peace be made, provided the Spaniards will make 'good their promiſe to the parliament, to ſtand to 'their arbitration. That promiſe is but a meer ſong, 'but that ſong is neceſſary to us, becauſe we may 'without much difficulty make ſomething material of 'it. I would not have adviſed, a quarter of an hour 'ago, to have engaged ſo far with the Spaniards; and 'when the Expreſs came, I was about propoſing an 'expedient, which, in my opinion, would have ſa- 'tisfied them at a much leſs rate. But being aſſured 'by the news we have received, that Mr. de Turenne 'is maſter of his army, and that the court has none 'to oppoſe it, but that which lies before Paris, I am 'perſuaded that we may not only engage with the 'Spaniards as far as they now deſire, but that we 'ought to preſs them to it, ſhould they not deſire it. 'We have therein two advantages. The firſt is, that 'this engagement agrees as well with the private as 'with the public intereſt of our party, which does not 'often happen: the ſecond is, that the ſeveral ways 'that tend to thoſe two ſorts of intereſts will quickly 'unite in one, which ſtill happens more ſeldom. The 'true intereſt of the public is a general peace: that of 'the company is to ſee order reſtored; your intereſt, 'Sir, and that of the other Generals, and mine like- 'wiſe, is to contribute to the advantages which I have 'mentioned, and to do it in a manner whereby we 'may not only be in reality, but appear the chief au- 'thors of it. All other advantages center in this one, 'and the way to obtain thoſe other advantages is in 'my opinion not to ſeem deſirous of them. You know 'what I have publicly declared, which is to refuſe any 'private advantage that I might reap by our under- 'taking: I will make my word good to the full. You 'are not in a like caſe; you would have Sedan reſtored 'to you, in which you are in the right. The Duke

'de

‘ de Beaufort would be Admiral, and is in the right
‘ likewiſe. Mr. de Longueville has pretenſions of his
‘ own; in God's name let him. The Prince of Conti
‘ and Madam de Longueville would live no longer in
‘ the Prince of Condé's dependance; no more they
‘ ſhall not. The way to obtain theſe ſeveral preten-
‘ ſions, is at firſt to forbear demanding them. You
‘ muſt apply yourſelves wholly to the general peace;
‘ you muſt conclude your treaty with the Spaniards as
‘ ſoon as poſſible, and enter into the moſt poſitive and
‘ moſt ſacred engagements; and for the greater ſatis-
‘ faction of the people, you muſt add to the article
‘ of the general peace, the excluſion of Cardinal Ma-
‘ zarin, their capital enemy; the Arch-duke muſt be
‘ deſired to advance with all diligence to Pont-à-verre,
‘ and Mr. de Turenne into Champaign. We muſt,
‘ without loſing one moment, propoſe to the parlia-
‘ ment what Don Joſeph d'Illeſcas has already propoſed
‘ to them about the general peace; we muſt bring
‘ them to be of our opinion, which will be eaſy, con-
‘ ſidering the condition they will perceive that we are
‘ in; we muſt oblige the parliament to ſend word to
‘ their deputies at Ruel, either to obtain of the
‘ Queen the naming of a place for the holding con-
‘ ferences about a general peace, or to come im-
‘ mediately back to the parliament. I do not deſpair
‘ that the court, who will be reduced to the laſt ex-
‘ tremity, will embrace that propoſal; in which caſe
‘ is it not true, that nothing can be more glorious for
‘ us? I know very well, that if the court can be
‘ brought to this, the King of Spain will not leave
‘ matters to the arbitration of the parliament, as he
‘ now promiſes; but I dare anſwer, that what I was
‘ ſaying would prove true, that is, that that promiſe,
‘ which in itſelf is but a ſong, would however oblige
‘ the miniſters to have a regard for the parliament,
‘ which could not but be very advantageous to France.
‘ If the court refuſes that propoſal, can they pretend
‘ to ſtand it out for two months together? Will not all
‘ the provinces that are already wavering, declare for
‘ us? And is the army that the Prince of Condé com-

‘ mands

'mands, in a condition to make head againſt the 'Spaniſh forces, and againſt Mr. de Turenne's army 'and our own? Theſe two laſt armies, when they are 'joined together, will prevent any danger that we 'might with reaſon have feared from foreign forces, 'which will now be much more at our command than 'we at theirs, becauſe we ſhall not want their aid for 'the keeping of Paris, which we ſhall the more ſurely 'reckon ours, becauſe we ſhall be maſters of it by 'means of the parliament, and by the ſame means 'maſters of the people, who are never more yours 'than when you hold them by other hands than your 'own. Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, opens us 'the only way that may bring us to what otherwiſe 'we durſt not ſo much as have thought of, which is 'an union betwixt Spain and the parliament for our 'defence, becauſe by Mr. de Turenne's declaring, 'the propoſal for a general peace becomes real and 'ſolid. His declaring brings things to a poſſibility 'of coming to a good end; it gives us room to engage 'the parliament, with whom what we ſhall now do 'will one way or other prove advantageous. But 'there is but the preſent inſtant in which this engage-'ment can prove either poſſible or uſeful. The firſt 'Preſident and the Preſident de Meſmes are abſent, 'and it will be beyond compariſon eaſier for us to 'bring the company to paſs any thing that we pro-'poſe, whilſt they are abſent, than if they were pre-'ſent: if thoſe two Preſidents perform faithfully the 'order that I have mentioned about a general peace; 'which we muſt oblige the parliament to ſend to 'them, we ſhall find our account in it, and ſhall 'unite the whole body of the parliament together to 'go about that great work. If the court are abſolutely 'reſolved to reject that propoſal, and thoſe of the de-'puties that are devoted to the court intereſt refuſe to 'follow the parliament's directions, and to run the 'ſame fortune with us, we ſhall find no leſs our ac-'count in it another way; for by ſticking cloſe to the 'body of the parliament, of which the others can be 'looked upon but as deſerters, we ſhall become more

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'and more masters of it. This is my advice, which 'I offer to set my name to, and to shew it the parliament, provided that you do not let slip the conjuncture in which alone it is good. For if any alteration 'on Mr. de Turenne's side should happen before I 'should shew it them, I should in that case oppose this 'advice with as much ardour as you see me propose it.'

Madam de Bouillon, who had hitherto found me too moderate for her purpose, was surprised to the last degree at this proposal, which appeared good to her, because it looked great. Whereupon the Duke said: 'Nothing, Sir, is finer than what you propose; there 'is a possibility in the thing, but it would prove pernicious to every one of us. Spain will spare no promises to us, but will perform none, as soon as we 'are engaged not to join in any measures with the 'court, but towards a general peace. That peace is 'the only thing that the Spaniards have in view, and 'no sooner will they find means to bring matters to 'that point, but they will immediately forsake us. 'Now, if we enter at once into the engagements which 'you propose, nothing is more likely than to see a 'peace agreed upon in a fortnight's time, because it 'will be impossible for France not to consent to it, 'even over-hastily. But what will the sooner bring 'the peace about, is that I know most certainly that 'the Spaniards desire to have it at what price soever, 'and even upon terms so disadvantageous to themselves that it would surprize you. Taking this for 'granted, in what condition shall we find ourselves the 'moment that we have made or procured that peace? 'It will redound much to our honour, I own it. But 'will that honour prevent our becoming the objects 'of the hatred and detestation of our court? Will the 'house of Austria, think ye, take up arms again, 'when it sees both you and me clapped up in prison 'four months after the peace? Oh, but, say you, we 'shall stipulate such conditions with Spain, as will 'prevent our being used in that manner. I have, I 'think, answered that objection before-hand, by telling you that Spain is so much pressed inwardly by

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'her domeſtic wants, that they would not ſtick one 'ſingle moment to ſacrifice to peace the moſt ſolemn 'promiſes that they might have made us; to which 'inconveniency I find no manner of remedy. Sup-'poſe that Spain fails us in making good their pro-'miſe about the excluſion of Cardinal Mazarin; what 'will that expoſe us to? Will the honour of having 'brought about a general peace compenſate with the 'people, (whoſe deteſtation for the Cardinal is well 'enough known) the evil of ſeeing him continue at the 'head of affairs, when our chiefeſt end in taking up 'arms was to deſtroy him? But ſuppoſe that the Car-'dinal is excluded, can you deny that we muſt, not-'withſtanding, remain expoſed to the Queen's re-'venge, the Prince of Condé's reſentment, and to all 'the conſequences that actions of the nature of ours, 'may prompt an incenſed court to againſt us? True 'glory is that alone which is laſting; the other is but 'like ſmoke; and of this ſecond ſort will that glory 'be, which we may reap by procuring a general 'peace, if we do not ſupport it by ſettlements, which 'to the reputation of having intended rightly, will 'add that of our having acted wiſely. Not but that I 'admire and eſteem your diſintereſtedneſs, but I am 'ſure that you would not approve of it in me, if it 'went as far as yours. There are ſufficient ſettle-'ments in your family: but caſt your eyes upon mine, 'and conſider my wife's * condition as well as my 'own, and that of our children.'

I anſwered theſe reaſons, by making uſe of all thoſe which I thought I might find in abundance, in regard that the Spaniards could not help having for us, by ſeeing us abſolute maſters of Paris, of an army of eight thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, encamped at

* That Lady had a great aſcendant over the Duke her huſband, who had married her purely for love, ſhe being indeed of great quality, but without any fortune. She was a Roman Catholick, and ſoon prevailed with her huſband to become one too, to the mighty grief of the Dutcheſs Dowager of Bouillon, his mother, and of the Prince Frederick of Orange his uncle, whoſe eldeſt daughter he might have married.

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its gates, and of another army, the beſt diſciplined of any in Europe, marching to our aid. I did whatever lay in my power to bring him over to my opinion: he did the like to bring me over to his, which was to let the Spaniſh Envoys ſtill think, that we were altogether reſolved to enter into an engagement with them about a general peace, but at the ſame time to give them to underſtand, that we thought it much the beſt way to bring the parliament likewiſe to engage, which could not be done but by degrees, and inſenſibly. That in that manner we might amuſe the Envoys, by ſigning a treaty that would be but a preliminary to the intended one with the parliament, which preliminary treaty would conſequently engage us as yet into nothing poſitive in relation to a general peace, though it would ſerve ſufficiently to induce them to cauſe their troops to advance. 'My brother's army' (added Mr. de Bouillon) 'will advance at the ſame time, and the ſurpriſe 'which this will put the court into, will bring them 'there to an accommodation. And as by our treaty 'with Spain we keep a back-door open for ourſelves, 'in relation to the parliament, we ſhall find means, 'if the court ſhould not anſwer our expectation, to 'make uſe of that back-door, both for the public, and 'our own advantage.'

Theſe conſiderations, though wiſe, and even profound, did not convince me, becauſe the conduct which Mr. de Bouillon inferred from it, ſeemed to me impracticable. I conceived that he might indeed amuſe the Envoys, but I could not imagine how he could do the like with the parliament, who were actually treating with the court by their deputies at Ruel, and who from their higheſt flights, ſoon fell with a greater force into their uſual deſire after a peace. I conceived that nothing but ſuch a ſolemn engagement as that which I had mentioned, could keep them from running on where they were led by their own inclination; but that engagement being againſt Mr. de Bouillon's ſcheme, and the parliament conſequently being left to their own ways, we ſhould, if any of our ſtrings failed us,

be neceſſitated to have recourſe to the people, which I looked upon as the worſt of all inconveniences.

As I was imparting this to Mr. de Bouillon, he interrupted me, and aſked me what I meant by ſaying: *If any of our ſtrings failed us?* 'For example, Sir,' ſaid I, 'if Mr. de Turenne ſhould die ſuddenly, or if 'his army ſhould deſert him, which you know Erlac 'has taken much pains about, what would become 'of us if we had not brought, before this, the parliament to engage? We ſhould become tribunes of the 'people for the firſt day, and the next Fuenſaldagne's 'ſervants. Remember, Sir, my old ſong, which is: '*Every thing with the parliament, nothing without 'them.*' We conteſted in this manner for three or four hours together, without perſuading each other, and we agreed to put off the debate to the next day, at a meeting at the Prince of Conti's, in the preſence of Meſſieurs de Beaufort, d'Elbeuf, de la Mothe, de Briſſac, de Noirmoutier, and de Bellievre. I found myſelf very much troubled when I left Mr. de Bouillon. I was perſuaded, and I am ſo ſtill, that there was nothing ſolid in his way of reaſoning. I thought that the conſequence of it would be the opening a door to all manner of private treaties; but knowing the confidence which the Spaniards put in him, I doubted not but that it was in his power, by the turn he ſhould give to his opinion, to bring the Envoys to whatever he deſired. My trouble was much increaſed at my coming home. I found there a letter in cypher from Madam de Leſdiguieres, wherein ſhe made me immenſe offers from the Queen; the payment of all my debts, ſeveral abbies, and my nomination to the cardinalſhip. In a little note writ ſeparately, I found theſe words: 'The army in Germany's declaring for 'you, puts every body here into a conſternation.' I judged that trials would be made upon others, as well as upon me; and finding that Mr. de Bouillon began to ſeek for ſmall doors to enter in at, at a time when every thing proſpered with us, I thought that others would hardly refuſe entering at the large doors, which I doubted not but would be opened to them, by reaſon

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of Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us. What grieved me moſt was, that I could not reach the bottom of Mr. de Bouillon's mind and deſign. I had hitherto thought the firſt brighter, and the ſecond vaſter, than they appeared to me in this conjuncture, which certainly was a deciſive one, ſince the point was to bring the parliament either to engage or not to engage. He had preſſed me twenty times to do what I now offered to do, and my reaſon for acting ſo was his brother's declaring for us, which ought to have ſtill a greater weight upon him than upon me. But inſtead of that, it works a contrary way, becauſe he thinks that this will move Mazarin to reſtore him Sedan. He is altogether intent upon the recovering of that, and he prefers a ſmall intereſt to the great one which he might find in giving peace to Europe. That ſtep of his has obliged me to ſay in another place, that though he was a man of very great parts, I doubted whether he was as capable as it was believed, of all the great things he has not performed. *Nothing hurts a great man ſo much, as the not taking hold of the critical moment on which reputation depends. The miſſing of it ſeldom proceeds from any other cauſe than the being over eager in minding the critical moment on which one's fortune depends, in which you commonly are doubly deceived.* Mr. de Bouillon's deſire to act cunningly in this occaſion, prevented, in my opinion, his acting wiſely, and it is what happens pretty frequently.

We met the next day at the Prince of Conti's. Madam de Longueville, who had been brought to-bed of a ſon above ſix weeks before this, and in whoſe chamber we had debated affairs above twenty times, was not preſent at this meeting, and I could not but fancy that there was ſome myſtery in her abſenting herſelf. The matter was debated by Mr. de Bouillon and me upon the ſame principles as it had been at his houſe. The Prince of Conti was of Mr. de Bouillon's opinion, and ſpoke in a manner which made me judge that there was ſome negotiation on foot. Mr. d'Elbeuf was as gentle as a lamb, and ſeemed as if he would have

gone further ſtill than Mr. de Bouillon in his opinion, if he durſt have done it.

The Chevalier de Frages, brother to the old Madam de Fiennes, who ſerved in our party as a double ſpy, though he bore the title of commander of the regiment d'Elbeuf, had informed me as I was entering the town-houſe, that he thought that his maſter had made his accommodation. Mr. de Beaufort gave me to underſtand by his behaviour that Madam de Montbazon had been tampering with him. But as I was ſure that my power over him was greater than hers, I had not been troubled to ſee him at firſt ſomewhat wavering; and by adding his voice, as I might have done, to that of Meſſieurs de Briſſac, de la Mothe, de Noirmoutier, and de Bellievre, who all declared for my opinion, I had carried it by much, if the conſideration of Mr. de Turenne, who at that inſtant was our chiefeſt dependance, as well as the conſideration in which Mr. de Bouillon was with the Spaniards by the meaſures he had all along kept with Fuenſaldagne, had not obliged me to do with a good grace what I could not otherwiſe have avoided. I had been with the Spaniſh Envoys the day before, to try to diſcover whether they continued ſtill as much bent as I had found them before, and as Mr. and Madam de Bouillon had repreſented them to be, to enter into no treaty with us, but only upon our engaging not to lay down our arms till a general peace was concluded. But I found them abſolutely changed. They were indeed ſtill for treating about a general peace, but they would have it done after Mr. de Bouillon's manner, which was to do it at twice. That gentleman had put it into their heads that it would be much more advantageous to them in that manner, becauſe we ſhould not fail that way to engage the parliament. In ſhort, I found out by whoſe means they were ſo altered, and I ſaw plainly that theſe reaſons, with the order they had to conform themſelves in every thing to Mr. de Bouillon's opinion, would outweigh by much all that I could ſay to the contrary. That hindered me from opening myſelf to them. I went betwixt twelve and one at night to the Preſident de

de Bellievre's, and I carried him along with me to Croiſſi's, that we might be there more at liberty. They both were of my opinion, without the leaſt heſitation, but though they thought as well as I, that a contrary way would infallibly prove our ruin, they however thought it inconvenient for the preſent to come into it, becauſe our whole dependance was upon the Spaniards and Mr. de Turenne, whoſe motions were as yet governed by none but Mr. de Bouillon. They both were willing to think, that we ſhould oblige Mr. de Bouillon the next day, being then to meet together, to come over to our opinion, or that we ſhould be able to perſuade Mr. de Turenne to it as ſoon as he had joined us. As for my part, I was the leſs inclined to flatter myſelf in that manner, becauſe what I feared moſt of Mr. de Bouillon's conduct was very likely to happen before Mr. de Turenne's arrival. Croiſſi, who was a man full of expedients, ſaid to me: 'You are 'in the right, Sir, but a thought is now come into 'my head: in the preliminary treaty which Mr. de 'Bouillon propoſes, do you intend to be one that 'ſigns?' No, Sir,' anſwered I. 'Well then,' replied he, 'take hold of that opportunity to let the 'Envoys know the reaſons you have to refuſe to ſign. 'Theſe reaſons would without doubt convince Fuenſaldagne, if he was preſent, that the true intereſt of 'Spain is to follow the way you propoſe. It may happen that the Envoys, when they have heard you, 'will deſire time to inform the Arch-duke of your reaſons, and in that caſe, I dare anſwer that Fuenſaldagne will approve of them, and that Mr. de Bouillon muſt conſequently ſubmit his reaſons to yours. 'Nothing is more natural than what I propoſe, and 'the Envoys themſelves will not perceive thereby that 'there is any diviſion in the party, becauſe what you 'will ſay will not appear to be in contradiction to Mr. 'de Bouillon's advice, but only in your own juſtification for your refuſing to ſign.'

Finding little or no inconveniency in this expedient, I reſolved at a venture to make uſe of it, and the next morning I deſired the Duke de Briſſac to go and dine

with Madam de Bouillon, and to tell her unaffectedly, that he saw me a little wavering about the signing the preliminary treaty with Spain. I made no doubt but that wavering would please the Duke de Bouillon, and would put him upon pressing me to sign it as well as the others, whereby he would open me a way to explain myself in the presence of the Envoys.

This is the disposition I was in at our conference at the Prince of Conti's. When I found therefore that neither Mr. de Bellievre nor I could persuade Mr. de Bouillon, I seemed to yield both to his reasons, and to the authority of the Prince of Conti who was our Generalissimo. We agreed to treat with the Archduke upon the foot which Mr. de Bouillon proposed, which was, that the Spaniards should advance as far as Pont-à-verre, and even further, when our Generals should require it; and that our Generals on their side, should do what they could to oblige the parliament to come into the treaty, or rather to come to a new treaty about a general peace; that is, to oblige the King to treat about it upon reasonable terms, the particulars of which the Spanish King left even to the arbitration of the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon took upon him to get this treaty, as plain as I mention it here, signed by the Envoys. He did not so much as ask me whether or no I intended to sign it. All the company seemed well pleased to be succoured by Spain at so cheap a rate, and to be left at liberty to accept the proposals which Mr. de Turenne's declaration obliged the court to make in a profuse manner to every one. The company agreed that the treaty should be signed at midnight, at the Prince of Conti's chamber at the Town-house. The Envoys failed not to meet us all there at the appointed time, and I took notice that they observed me in a very particular manner. Whilst Croissi was engrossing the treaty, Don Joseph d'Illescas turned himself towards me, and asked me whether I would not sign it? To which answering, that the Count de Fuensaldagne had forbid it me in Madam de Bouillon's name; he said very seriously to me, that my signing was required as a necessary preliminary, and that the

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diſpatches that he had received not above two days ago from the Arch-duke, mentioned it in moſt expreſs terms. I perceived by this the effect which what I had deſired the Duke de Briſſac to ſay to Madam de Bouillon had produced. Mr. de Bouillon preſſed me extremely to ſign. I then took hold of this opportunity to let the Spaniſh Envoys ſee what their true intereſt was, by proving plainly to them that there was ſo little ſafety for me, as well as for the whole party, in the meaſures now taken, that I could not join with the reſt, at leaſt ſo far as to ſign. I repeated before them the offer that I had made the day before, to ſign any thing without exception, provided the reſolution were final and deciſive. I did my beſt to give them ſome miſtruſt, but without ſeeming to do it, of the doors which this preliminary treaty opened to every one for making their particular treaties with the court.

Though what I ſaid was only by way of recital of what had paſſed, and not at all as if I deſigned to oppoſe what had been reſolved upon, it made however ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the mind of the Bernardine, that Mr. de Bouillon ſeemed concerned at it. The other Envoy, who had brought from Bruſſels new orders for them to follow intirely Mr. de Bouillon's advice, preſſed his colleague to do it, which he did without any great reſiſtence, and I adviſed him myſelf to do it, when I ſaw that he would have done it of his own accord. I added, that to take off any ſcruple that might ariſe from the difficulty I made to ſign, I gave them my word, that if the parliament came to an accommodation with the court, I would by ſome expedients that I had in hand, give them all the neceſſary time for the withdrawing their troops. I made this offer for two reaſons: the firſt, becauſe I was perſuaded that Fuenſaldagne, who was a cautious man, would not be at all of the Envoys mind, nor engage his army ſo far into France, when he had ſo little promiſed him from our Generals, and nothing from me: my ſecond reaſon was, the deſire I had of ſhewing even to our Generals, that I was reſolved not to ſuffer, if I could help it, any treachery to be uſed againſt the Spaniards,

whom I undertook therefore to protect, even in case the parliament came to an accommodation, though I had declared above twenty times during this conference that I could not separate myself from that body, which was indeed the only cause of my refusing to sign a treaty which they came not into.

Mr. d'Elbeuf said aloud to me; 'You can find only 'in the people the expedients which you just now mentioned to these gentlemen.' 'You are mistaken,' answered I, 'and Mr. de Bouillon will be security for 'me, that as to that matter I shall have no recourse 'at all to the people.' Mr. de Bouillon, who was very desirous that I should sign, replied: 'I know, 'that it is not your intention; but I am persuaded 'that you act against your intention without knowing it, and that by signing we express a greater regard for the parliament than you do by not signing: 'for (added he to me in a low voice, for fear the 'Envoys should hear him) we keep a back-door in 'reserve, to bring ourselves off with the parliament.' 'The parliament,' answered I, 'will set that back-door open, when you would have it shut, as it appears 'already; without leaving it in your power to open 'it or shut it at your pleasure. That company is not 'to be plaid upon——At these last words the Prince of Conti called us. The treaty was read, and signed without any appearance of any body's having been bribed to do it. But I have heard since from Don Gabriel de Toledo, that the Envoys had presented Madam de Montbazon with two thousand pistoles, and Mr. d'Elbeuf with as much.

I came back to my house, grieved at what had passed. The President de Bellievre, and Montresor whom I found there, was no less grieved than I. The President said then a thing which proved but too true by the event, and which deserves to be taken notice of. 'We have, said he, missed this day engag-'ing the parliament, with whom all was good and 'safe: God grant that every thing goes right, for if but one of our strings fails us we are undone.' Just as Mr. de Bellievre had done speaking, Noirmoutier came

came to us, and told us that since I had left the town-house a valet-de-chambre of Laigues's was come thither to seek for me, but not finding me, that he had mounted his horse again, and was gone without speaking to any body. You must observe that Laigues, who was a very brave man, but of no great sense, and who from the time that he sold his post in the guards had stuck very close to me, took a fancy, as soon as the Bernardine monk was sent as Envoy to us, to go to Flanders as from me, to negotiate there, thinking thereby to become considerable in the party. He asked me for that post, and he obliged Montresor, who designed him from that instant to another post in Brussels, which was to be Madam de Chevreuse's lover, to press me about it. It was not without pains that I was persuaded to it, chiefly because he must be impowered by me to treat there. However I was forced to yield to his and to Montresor's instances, this last representing to me that Madam de Chevreuse might become useful to me in time; that she happened to be now without a lover; and that that place might be soon filled up by some other who was not in my dependance as Laigues was: and so I came to send him to reside at the Arch-duke's court. His valet-de-chambre brought me a most pitiful dispatch from him. He magnified the Arch-duke's good intentions and Fuensaldagne's sincerity, representing how much we ought to confide in them. In short, I never saw any thing so silly. The poor man fancied already that he governed Fuensaldagne. I leave you to judge how agreeable it was to have such a man for a negotiator, at a court where we were like to have affairs of more than one sort. Noirmoutier, who was his intimate friend, owned that Laigues's letter was impertinent, without reflecting that it put him himself at that instant upon a very impertinent design. For it came into his head to go likewise to Brussels, saying that he confest it was inconvenient to leave Laigues there, but that it would be a piece of rudeness to recall him, or even to send him a colleague, except that colleague was his particular friend, and of a degree altogether above his.

This Noirmoutier said, but what he had in his thoughts was, that he hoped to distinguish himself in a post that would bring him into the way of negociating, without taking him from his employments in the army, and that would give him the whole trust of the party in regard to Spain, and the whole consideration of Spain in regard to the party. We did what we could to remove that thought from out of his head, but in vain: he would have it so, and so it was, because we could not help it. He bore the name of la Trimouille, which is a great name; he was a Lieutenant-General; he made a figure in the party, which he had entered into and continued in by my means. *This is one of the inconveniences of civil wars: one is often forced to commit faults that proceed from good conduct.*

The conference at Ruel began as ill as could be. The deputies pretended that the court did not keep their word about opening the passages, nor would not even suffer the hundred muids of corn to pass freely. The court maintained that they had made no such promise as to cause the passages to be opened, neither was it their fault that the corn did not pass. The Queen, as a preliminary to the raising of the siege, asked that the parliament should engage to go and hold their sittings at St. Germains for as long a time as the King pleased, and should forbear their assemblies of Chambers for three years. The deputies with one consent rejected these two demands, which the court receded from that very afternoon. The Duke of Orleans told the deputies that the Queen was willing to remit the transferring the parliament to St. Germains, and would be content that when every thing was agreed upon, they should only go once thither to hold a bed of justice to verify the declaration relating to the designed accommodation. And as to the forbidding for three years the assemblies of the chambers, the Queen likewise reduced that to two. The deputies did not contest much upon the first article, but refused to yield to the second, alledging that the privilege of the chambers assembling was essential to the parliament. These contests,

conteſts, with many others that happened, exaſperated people to that degree when they were known at Paris, that nothing leſs was talked of, round the fire in the grand-chamber, than of revoking the power given to the deputies. The Generals likewiſe (who finding themſelves ſued to by the court, by whom they had been but little minded before Mr. Turenne's declaring for us, doubted not but that they ſhould ſtill mend their condition much, when they found the court ſtill more embarraſſed) did all they could to incenſe the parliament and the people, to let the Cardinal ſee that all did not depend upon the conference at Ruel. I contributed to that deſign with a view of regulating or rather moderating the precipitation with which the firſt Preſident and the Preſident de Meſmes were running into every thing that looked like an accommodation.

What paſſed in the parliament on the 8th of March was very conſiderable. The Prince of Conti told the company that Mr. de Bouillon, who was fallen ill again of the gout, had deſired him to acquaint them that Mr. de Turenne offered them his perſon and his army againſt Cardinal Mazarin, the enemy of the ſtate. To that I added, that being juſt then informed that they had prepared the day before a proclamation at St. Germains, whereby Mr. de Turenne was declared guilty of high-treaſon, I thought it neceſſary to annul that proclamation; to authoriſe in a moſt ſolemn manner by an arreſt, Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us; to injoin all his Majeſty's ſubjects to give his troops a free paſſage and ſubſiſtance; and to go inceſſantly about providing a fund for the payment of his army, and for preventing the ill effect which 800000 livres that the court had juſt ſent to Erlac in order to bribe that army, might produce. That propoſal paſt with a general conſent. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy that appeared in every bodies looks as as well as their expreſſions. The company put out a very ſevere arreſt againſt Courcelles, Lavardin, and Amilly, who were levying troops for the King in the province of Maine. Leave was given to the people to

assemble at the hearing any alarm-bell, and to fall upon all those that should meet together without the parliament's order.

This was not all: for the President de Bellievre having acquainted the company that he had received a letter from the first President, wherein he assured him that neither himself nor any other of the deputies would do any thing unworthy the trust reposed in their hands; there arose a public cry, rather than a voice, ordering the President de Bellievre to send express word to the first President not to hearken to any new proposal, nor to come to any resolution upon the old ones, till all arrears of corn in the manner it had been granted, had been intirely delivered; and till all the passages and highways had been opened and made free, for the messengers to go, and provisions to come in.

The 9th of March they issued out the arrest for putting a stop to the conference till the promises for opening all passages, as well for the coming in of corn as for all other manner of provisions, should be entirely fulfilled. It was with some difficulty, that the most moderate of the company could obtain an additional clause to that arrest, which was, not to publish it till they heard again from the first President whether the passes about the corn had not been expedited since their last hearing from him.

The same day the prince of Conti acquainted the parliament, that Mr. de Longueville desired him to assure them that he would march away from Roüen upon the 15th of this month, and go directly to St. Germains with an army of 7000 foot and 3000 horse. This occasioned an incredible joy in the company, who desired the Prince that he would however hasten the Duke.

The 10th, Miron, a deputy from the parliament in Normandy, came to the parliament with an order from Mr. de Longueville to tell the company that the parliament of Britanny had received with joy the letter and arrest of that of Paris, and that they staid only the coming of Mr. de la Trimouille, to put out

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an arreſt for their uniting with them againſt the common enemy. He likewiſe acquainted them that the province of Mans, which had declared for the party, had ſent deputies to the Duke de Longueville: for which good news Miron had the thanks of the whole company.

The 11th, a gentleman ſent by Mr. de la Trimouille came to the parliament, and offered the company, in his maſter's name, 8000 foot and 2000 horſe, which as he ſaid would be ready to march in two days time, provided that Mr. de la Trimouille had leave from the company to ſeize upon the King's money that was in the receivers hands for the diſtricts of Poitiers, of Niort, and of the other places which he was already ſure of. The parliament returned Mr. de la Trimouille many thanks, and gave an arreſt of union in his behalf, with a full power for him to ſeize the King's money, requeſting him at the ſame time to make all poſſible haſte with his levies.

Mr. de la Trimouille's gentleman was ſcarce gone, when the Preſident de Bellievre acquainted the company that the firſt Preſident deſired a new power to be ſent him for going on in the conference, becauſe the day before they had put out an arreſt whereby he and the other deputies were ordered not to proceed. The parliament's anſwer to the Preſident de Bellievre was in ſhort, that that power ſhould be granted, but not till the quantity of corn that had been promiſed was received.

A moment after this, one Roland, a citizen of Rheims, who had abuſed perſonally and turned out of the city Mr. de la Vieuville * the Lord Lieutenant of the county, becauſe he had declared for the court, preſented a petition to the parliament, complaining of the officers that had informed againſt him upon that account. The parliament approved of what he had done, and promiſed him their protection.

By the heat you ſee the party is in you will at leaſt think that it will require ſome time before it cools,

* Charles, ſecond of the name, Duke de la Vieuville.

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and before the peace is made. Nothing like it: the peace is agreed on, and signed that very day, the 11th of March, by the deputies, who the day before had sent for a new power, because the old was revoked, and to whom that new power had been refused.

The reason of a change so very sudden that it will scarce be believed by posterity, though people accustomed themselves to it in a very few days was this:

Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, had obliged the court to apply itself more eagerly than before about winning the Generals, in which they did not succeed as they expected. Madam de Montbazon being pressed by Vineuil in more than one manner, had promised to gain Mr. de Beaufort to the Queen; but the Queen knew very well that she could hardly make her word good, except I had a hand in the matter. La Riviere had ceased to express any contempt for Mr. de Elbeuf. The Mareschal de la Mothe could not be come at but by means of Mr. de Longueville, whom the court could not be so sure of by much, by the way of Anetonville, as we were by that of Varicarville. Mr. de Bouillon, since his brother had declared himself, had shewn a greater propensity than before for an accommodation with the court. Vassé, who, as I think, commanded his regiment of horse, had opened more than one way to communicate his demands at St. Germains. But these demands were thought very high. No small offers, you may be sure, could satisfy the two brothers, as matters went, and in the posts they were in. Mr. de la Rochefoucaut's irresolution was little pleasing to la Riviere, who besides considered that no accommodation with the Prince of Conti could be much relied on, except it was likewise agreed to by the Prince of Condé, and that Prince was not to be easily satisfied about his brother's cardinalship. As for what concerns me, my answer to the offers made me by the channel of Madam de Lesdiguieres gave the court no room to believe that I could easily be won.

In short, Cardinal Mazarin found all overtures for a negotiation either shut up or imbarrassed. This despair of succeeding, if I may say so, proved by the

event more beneficial to the court than the moſt artful negotiation would have done. For the Cardinal, who went on negotiating, becauſe his inclination led him altogether that way, truſted not to it however on this occaſion ſo much as to make him neglect other means; that ſerved him only to amuſe our Generals, whilſt in the mean time he was ſending 800,000 livres, whereby he became maſter of Mr. de Turenne's army, and was perſuading the deputies at Ruel to ſign a peace, againſt the direction they had from the parliament. The Preſident de Meſmes has aſſured me ſeveral times ſince, that this peace was purely owing to a reſolution taken betwixt him and Cardinal Mazarin, the night between the 8th and 9th of March. This is the manner in which he related the thing to me. Cardinal Mazarin having told him that he ſaw plainly that Mr. de Bouillon would come to no agreement till Mr. de Turenne was within reach both of Paris and of the Spaniards, that is, till he found himſelf in a condition to aſk and obtain whatever he pleaſed, the Preſident's anſwer was, 'There is no way of ſaving the kingdom, 'but by making the Coadjutor a Cardinal.' To that the 'Cardinal replied, 'The Coadjutor is worſe than the 'other: for one ſees at leaſt a time when the Duke de 'Bouillon will come to a private agreement, but the 'other will never treat but when he does it for the Ge-'neral.' 'Since things are in this ſtate (ſaid the Preſi-'dent) we muſt do the work ourſelves, and expoſe our perſons to ſave the kingdom. We muſt immedately ſign 'a peace, for after what the parliament has done to-day, 'there, there are no meaſures to be kept, and we may 'be recalled to-morrow. 'Tis true, that we expoſe 'our perſons to the greateſt danger, if we are diſ-'owned. The gates of Paris will be ſhut againſt us. 'We ſhall be tried and condemned as prevaricators 'and traitors. Your buſineſs therefore is, to give us 'conditions that may juſtify our proceeding. All our 'intereſts are concerned in this, becauſe, if the condi-'tions are reaſonable, we ſhall be able to cope the 'better with the factious. However I ſhall ſign them 'in whatever manner you are pleaſed to have them

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'drawn; and I am this moment going to the firſt 'Preſident to acquaint him with the thing, and to tell 'him that it is my advice that we ſhould act in this 'manner, and that there is no other means to ſave the 'ſtate. If this ſucceeds, the peace is made; and in 'caſe we are diſowned, this will at leaſt weaken the 'faction, and the harm will fall upon nobody but our-'ſelves.' The Preſident de Meſmes, in telling me this, added, that what had paſſed at the parliament on the 8th, when they were acquainted there with Mr. de Turenne's declaring againſt the court, and what Cardinal Mazarin ſaid of the diſpoſition in which both Mr. de Bouillon and I were, brought this thought into his head, that the arreſt given the 9th for putting a ſtop to the conference, and the heat that had appeared at Paris among the people on the 10th, had confirmed him in it, and that he had perſuaded the firſt Preſident, though with ſome difficulty, to take the ſame ſtep.

The Preſident de Meſmes accompanied this relation with ſo many particulars, that I believed it was true. The late Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé have indeed told me, that the obſtinacy with which the firſt Preſident and the Preſident de Meſmes conteſted for ſome articles three whole days together, that is, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of March, agreed but little with that reſolution which the Preſident de Meſmes pretended to have been concerted on the 8th betwixt Cardinal Mazarin and himſelf. Longueil, who was one of the deputies, was perſuaded that the Preſident de Meſmes's account was true. The Cardinal, to whom I mentioned the thing after the peace confirmed it, with this exception, that he aſſumed to himſelf the honour of having corrected the Preſident's advice, which of itſelf had been moſt dangerous, if, ſaid he, I had not penetrated into the ſentiments of the Duke de Bouillon as well as yours. For I knew, continued he, that your deſign was againſt ruining the parliament by means of the people, and that the Duke de Bouillon would do nothing till his brother's arrival.

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After many conteſts, the peace, as I ſaid before, was ſigned upon the 11th of March, and it was with much difficulty that the deputies conſented that Cardinal Mazarin ſhould ſign it, which he did, together with the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, who were the deputies named by the King. Here follow the articles.

I. The parliament ſhall repair to St. Germains, where a Bed of Juſtice ſhall be held, in which the declaration containing the articles of the peace ſhall be publiſhed, after which the parliament ſhall return to Paris, to perform its uſual functions.

II. There ſhall be no aſſembly of the Chambers during all the year 1649, except for the reception of officers, and for the Mercuriales *.

III. All the arreſts given by the parliament ſince the 6th of January ſhall remain null, as if the ſame had never been made, except ſuch as relate to the common courſe of juſtice between private perſons.

IV. All the Lettres-de-Cacher, declarations, and arreſts, put out by the Upper Council, in relation to the preſent commotions, ſhall remain null, as if the ſame had never been made.

V. All the forces raiſed for the defence of Paris ſhall be diſbanded immediatly after the accommodation is ſigned; and his Majeſty ſhall likewiſe cauſe his troops to retire from the neighbourhood of Paris.

VI. The citizens ſhall lay down their arms, and ſhall not take them up again without the King's order.

VII. The Archduke's deputy ſhall be ſent back immediately, without any anſwer.

* A Mercuriale is an aſſembly which is made in the Sovereign Courts, the firſt Wedneſday after the opening of the courts at the St. Martin's and at Eaſter, in which the Preſident exhorts the Counſellors to render ſtrict juſtice, and to obſerve the regulations, and in which he ſometimes makes remonſtrances, and gives correction to thoſe who have been wanting to their duty. Theſe aſſemblies were eſtabliſhed by edicts from Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Henry III. in order to be informed whether the ordinances had been obſerved.

VIII. All writings and moveables that have been taken away from private perſons, and that ſhall be found in being, ſhall be reſtored.

IX. The Prince of Conti, Princes, Dukes, and every one without exception, that have taken up arms, ſhall not be liable to be called to account for it upon any pretence whatſoever, provided that they declare within four days, to commence from the day that the paſſages ſhall be opened, and Mr. de Longueville within ten days, that they are willing to be comprized in this preſent treaty.

X. The King ſhall give a general diſcharge for all the money belonging to him that has been taken away, for all the moveables that have been ſold, and for the arms and ammunition that have been carried away from the arſenal or other places.

XI. The King ſhall cauſe letters to be expedited for the revoking the Semeſtres * of the parliament of Aix, in conformity to the articles agreed upon the 21ſt of February, between his Majeſty's deputies and thoſe of that parliament, and of the country of Provence.

XII. The Baſtille ſhall be ſurrendered into the King's hands, &c.

Mr. de Bouillon, to whom I went as ſoon as I had the news, was extremely ſurprized when he heard that the peace was ſigned; and his Lady, throwing herſelf upon his bed, cried out, 'Oh! who would have 'thought it! Would you, Sir?' ſaid ſhe to me 'No, 'Madam, (anſwered I) I could not have thought that 'the parliament would have been ſo quick; but I be-'lieved, as you know, that they would make but a 'bad peace, if we let them alone: I was miſtaken only 'as to the time.' '' 'Tis very true (ſaid Mr. de Bou-'illon) he has foreſeen it, and ſaid it over and over: 'we alone have done all the miſchief.' I own that the hearing Mr. de Bouillon ſpeak in this manner inſpired

* The word *Semeſtre* ſignifies a term of ſix months, and the Semeſtres of a company are, when but half the members are permitted to aſſemble during ſix months, and the other half during the ſix other months.

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me with a new sort of respect for him. *For, in my opinion, a man shews himself greater by being capable of owning a fault, than by being incapable of committing it.* As we were about advising what was to be done in this conjuncture, the Prince of Conti, Mr. d'Elbeuf, Mr. de Beaufort, and Mr. de la Mothe, came into the room, knowing nothing of this piece of news. They came to impart to Mr. de Bouillon a design that St. Germain d'Apchon had formed upon Lagni, where he had some intelligence. They were mightily surprized at the signing of the peace, and they were the more so, because their private managers had been telling them for two or three last days, according to the common stile of that sort of agents, that the court was persuaded that the parliament was but a cypher, and that it was with the Generals that they must agree at last. Vassé had assured Mr. de Bouillon of it, and Madam de Montbazon had received five or six letters from court that said exactly the same thing. It must be owned, that Cardinal Mazarin played and hid his game extremely well on this occasion, and he is in that the more to be commended, because he was to guard himself against the indiscretion of la Riviere, which was very great, and against the impetuosity of the Prince of Condé, which at that time was not small. The very day that the peace was signed, that Prince spoke to the deputies of the parliament in such a rough manner, that it was like to have spoiled all.

I come now to the conference which we held together at Mr. de Bouillon's. I have already told you, that that gentleman had immediately acknowledged to me that he was mistaken in his notions, and had not formed a right judgment of things. He did the like publickly to all that were present there. The others were far from acting so ingenuously. Mr. de Bouillon and I had the pleasure to observe, *That they answered their own thoughts more than what was spoke to them, which seldom fails to happen to those that are conscious that they have done things which they may justly be blamed for.* I was desirous that they should begin to speak first, and declare their opinion. I begged of the Prince

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of Conti to consider that it belonged to him by all manner of reasons to open and shut the scene. He spoke so obscurely, that it was impossible to make any thing of what he said. Mr. d'Elbeuf enlarged very much, without concluding any thing. Mr. de Beaufort made use of his common place, which was always to say, that he would go roundly to work. Mr. de la Mothe's speeches never consisted in above six words. As for Mr. de Bouillon, he said, that as he knew none but me that could see to the bottom, into the sentiments of the parliament and of the people, he thought it necessary that I should discuss the whole matter, that they might afterwards the more easily come to some resolution. This is the substance of what I said:

'We have all acted in the manner we thought requisite, and we ought not to judge of things by the event. The power of the deputies was revoked before they signed the peace, which makes the peace void. We are as yet ignorant as to the articles, at least we have but an imperfect knowledge of them: but by what was lately proposed, it is easy to judge that the articles agreed upon are neither honourable nor safe. This, as I think, is the foundation upon which we are to argue; and that being granted, I shall not hesitate in the least to say, that we are not obliged to keep to the agreement; but on the contrary, that we are obliged by all the arguments founded upon honour and common sense, to depart from it. The President Viole writes me word, that Mr. de Turenne, with whom the parliament gave but three days ago an arrest to unite, is not so much as mentioned in the agreement: that the Generals have but four days allowed them, and Mr. de Longueville and the parliament of Roüen but ten, to declare whether they intend to be included in it. Judge ye, if that article, wherein they are not even allowed time to think upon their concerns, is not absolutely abandoning them. We may infer from these two articles what the others are, and how infamous it would be to accept of them. Let us come to the means of refusing them, in a manner that will prove

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'advantageous both to the public and to particular per-
'sons. There is no doubt but that these articles will
'be universally rejected, and even with rage, as soon
'as they are made public. But that rage, except we
'look to it, will undo us, because it will only amuse
'us. The parliament is at the bottom for peace, and
''tis only by fits that they are otherwise. The fit they
'are like to be in to-morrow will be terrible. If we
'fail to make use of that opportunity, that fit will soon
'be over, as we have seen others be, but with so much
'the greater danger this time, as it is like to be the
'last. We ought to judge of things to come by things
'past, and ought therefore to consider what all these
'fits of the company have commonly ended in. This
'brings me back to the opinion I always was of,
'which is to think only about a general peace; to
'sign this very night a treaty upon that foot with the
'Arch-duke's Envoys; to carry that treaty to-morrow
'to the parliament, without taking any notice of the
'peace, which we may very well appear ignorant of,
'since the first President has sent as yet no account of
'it to any body; and to oblige the parliament to put
'out an arrest, whereby their deputies are commanded
'to insist only upon that point, and upon the exclusion
'of Cardinal Mazarin; and in case of a refusal, to
'come back to the parliament. The little satisfac-
'tion which that company has received from the pro-
'ceedings of the court, and even from the conduct of
'their deputies, will work this effect, that what Mr.
'de Turenne's declaration would alone have made
'very possible, will now become so easy, that we need
'not stay (for the incensing that body the more) till
'the articles of this peace, which will infallibly raise
'their anger, are laid before them. Indeed my first
'view was to stay till that time; and when I began
'to speak, I designed, Sir, (said I to the Prince of
'Conti) to have proposed to you, that you should
'make use of these articles to inflame the parliament:
'but I think it proper not to stay till then, because
'the rumour which we may spread this night of the
'Generals being abandoned, would raise a greater in-
'dignation

'dignation in the minds of people, than the report of 'the deputies, which they will not fail to cover over 'with falſe colours.'

I was ſtopped here by the coming in of a meſſenger with a ſecond letter from Viole, wherein I found the rough draught of all the articles which I have already mentioned, but ſo ill writ, that I could hardly read them. But another letter that was incloſed in the ſame pacquet, and which Leſcüier, a maſter in the chamber of accounts, and one of the deputies, wrote to me, gave me an explanation of them. He gave me likewiſe notice by a ſeparate note, that Cardinal Mazarin had ſigned the treaty. This account made all the gentlemen with whom I was the leſs doubtful of the eaſe there was to inflame the parliament. 'I own it (ſaid I to them) but that does not 'make me change my opinion in the leaſt, and I am 'the more confirmed, that we ought not to ſtay till 'the deputies come back, in caſe you reſolve to fol- 'low that opinion. I will tell you my reaſon: if you 'give them time to come back, before you declare 'yourſelves for a general peace, you muſt likewiſe 'give them time to make their report, againſt which 'it will not be in your power not to rail. So that if to 'the propoſal you are to make about a general peace, 'which will work extremely upon all peoples fancies, 'you add your complaints and railings at the de- 'puties, you will incenſe the people to a degree that 'it will be out of your power to hinder them from 'tearing to pieces, even in your ſight, the firſt Preſi- 'dent, and the Preſident de Meſmes. You will be 'reckoned the authors of that tragedy, and thereby 'make yourſelves formidable the firſt day, and 'odious the ſecond."

Mr. de Beaufort, to whom Brillac had whiſpered ſomething in the ear, interrupted me at this word, ſaying, 'There is a good remedy; let us keep the 'town gates ſhut againſt them when they offer to 'come back: all the people have been crying for no- 'thing elſe for theſe four days.' 'I am not of that 'opinion (anſwered I.) You would be looked upon 'to-morrow as the tyrants of the parliament, even in

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'the opinion of those of that company, that would 'join to-day with you in opposing the return of the 'deputies.' 'Tis true, (said Mr. de Bouillon) and 'tis what the President de Bellievre was telling me 'this afternoon, adding besides, that it is necessary for 'what may follow, that the first President and the 'President de Mesmes may be looked upon as de-'serters of the parliament, and not as exiles.' 'I 'think him in the right (continued I;) for being 'looked upon as deserters, they will be abhorred as 'long as they live; when, as exiles, they will be pi-'tied in two days time, and their return wished for 'in less than four.' 'But I think it easy to reconcile 'all, (said Mr. de Bouillon.) Let us suffer the de-'puties to come back; let us suffer them to make 'their report, without falling into a passion, this will 'prevent our incensing the people. Your opinon is, 'that the parliament will not accept of their articles. 'Nothing will be more easy than to send them back to 'try whether they cannot obtain better. By this 'means we shall do nothing precipitately; we shall 'gain time to look about us. We shall remain upon 'the same foot we are; that is, we shall still be in a 'condition to do what you now propose, and to do it 'to a better advantage, when the three armies, of the 'Archduke, of Mr. de Longueville, and of Mr. de 'Turenne are drawn nearer us.'

I no sooner heard Mr. de Bouillon speak in this manner, than I guessed that he was relapsed into his fears of seeing the several interests of particular persons drowned in a manner in that only one of a general peace. This brought to my mind an observation which I had before made: *That it is more ordinary for men to have a speculative repentance for a fault that has proved unsuccessful, than a practical sorrow, whereby they might get rid of the impression which the motive that led them into that fault, never fails to make.* I took no notice however of what I knew to be the occasion of his speaking in the manner he had done. I only went on in my own way, by shewing the inconveniences that a delay would infallibly produce: the agita-

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tion of the people, which at every inſtant might puſh us on to things that would both diſgrace and ruin us: the inſtability of the parliament, which would probably oblige them to accept in a few days the articles which they would to-morrow tear to pieces, if we went about putting them upon it. I added to that, how eaſy it would be for us to procure a general peace to all Chriſtendom, having four armies in the field, three of which were ours independently from Spain. And as for the fear which Mr. de Bouillon had lately expreſſed of being abandoned by Spain, as ſoon as the Spaniards had room to think that we had brought the Cardinal to the neceſſity of concluding a peace with them, I ſhewed how the three armies of which we had the diſpoſal would prevent the Spaniards acting in that manner. I ended my diſcourſe by an offer I made of ſacrificing willingly my Coadjutorſhip to the Queen's reſentment, and the Cardinal's paſſion, if the gentlemen would enter into the meaſures I propoſed. 'Tis what I would have done joyfully, for ſuch an honour as the contributing to a general peace muſt have proved; beſides, I was not ſorry to expoſe a little the ſhame of thoſe who for the ſake of their private intereſt put a ſtop as this juncture to the moſt ſhining, the moſt glorious, and the moſt advantageous thing in the world. Mr. de Bouillon made uſe againſt me of the ſame reaſons that he had done before, when we firſt conteſted that matter, and he ended his diſcourſe in theſe words, 'I know that my brother's declaration may occaſion 'people to think, that I have great views as well for 'him as for myſelf and our whole houſe. Neither am 'I ignorant that what I have ſaid about the neceſſity 'which I think there is, to come to no deciſive reſolu'tion before he is advanced with his army nearer to 'us, will confirm every body in that opinion. Nay, 'I own myſelf, that I have ſomething like that in my 'view, becauſe I am perſuaded that it is lawful for me 'to have it. But I conſent that you all proclaim me 'for the greateſt wretch, if ever I come to an accom'modation with the court, till you have all declared 'to me that you are ſatisfied, and I deſire the Coadjutor

'jutor here to disgrace me, if I do not keep my 'word.'

This declaration could not bring the whole company to be altogether of Mr. de Bouillon's opinion, which however was accepted because of this one point, that it left a door open for private negotiations, which every one had either already begun, or hoped to begin, in their own way, 'besides its leaving my proposal to 'have recourse to, as a resource for the last *.' *The most common view that people have when they commit imprudent actions, is the possibility of finding out always some resource or other.* I might have brought, if I had pleased, the Duke de Beaufort and the Marechal de la Mothe to my opinion. But the consideration of Mr. de Turenne's army, and of the trust that the Spaniards put in Mr. de Bouillon, being such, that it had been foolish even to imagine that any thing considerable might be done in opposition to the advice of this last. I resolved to yield with respect to the Prince of Conti's authority, and to the majority of voices. The resolution they came to, of avoiding to enter into any particulars the next day at the parliament, was very prudent. The Prince of Conti was to take notice there, only in general, of the report that was current about the peace signed at Ruel, whereby he thought himself obliged to send likewise deputies thither, as well concerning his own interest as that of the other Generals. Mr. de Bouillon thought it proper for the Prince of Conti to speak in this manner, that the parliament might not perceive in the Generals any dislike to a peace. He had another view in it, which was to have more room left for finding fault with the particular articles, thinking by the first way to satisfy the parliament, who always inclined to a peace, even at the time they disliked the conditions; and by the second to please the people. In this manner (said he) we shall keep things at a stand, till we see a proper time to push them forward. At this he turned himself towards me, asking me if what he had said was not right? Very

* This is added to compleat the sense.

right (said I) and a true consequence of what you propose to do: but I think something better might be done. No (replied Mr. de Bouillon) and supposing it possible for my brother to be with us in three weeks time, I am sure that you yourself will not think so. 'Tis needless to dispute (said I) it has been decided your way: but God alone knows whether your brother will ever join us. I spoke this so much at random, that I myself could not but take notice of it, and seek out upon what ground I said it, at a time when nothing seemed more sure than Mr. de Turenne's coming: 'tis certain however, that I had had all along some doubts about it. We staid at Mr. de Bouillon's from eleven at night, that is, as soon as I had notice sent me of the peace (which was signed at nine) till three in the morning, and then we parted.

The next day, which was the 12th of March, the Prince of Conti said in a very few words to the parliament what was resolved upon at Mr. de Bouillon's. Mr. d'Elbeuf enlarged upon what the Prince had said. We affected (Mr. de Beaufort and I) not to explain ourselves upon any thing, and we experienced that what I had foretold of the people's commotion was but too well grounded. Miron, whom I had desired to be upon the watch, could hardly refrain from insulting the deputities at their coming into the street St. Honore, and I repented more than once, my spreading about early that morning the articles that were the most odious, with the circumstance of Cardinal Mazarin's signing the treaty. You have seen the reason why we thought fit to act in this manner, but it must be owned, *that a civil war is one of those complicated diseases, in which a remedy applied for curing one of the symptoms, often proves pernicious to several others.*

The deputies came not to the parliament till the 13th, where they found the company in a great emotion. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who was exasperated at some letters from St. Germains which he had received late at night upon the 12th, asked them roughly, (contrary to what had been resolved at Mr. de Bouillon's) whether they had done any thing in relation to the interest

intereſt of the Generals? In anſwer to that, the firſt Preſident was going to read the verbal proceſs of all that had paſſed at Rouel, but he was interrupted by the general noiſe of the company, who cried unanimouſly that there was no peace made, becauſe the power of the deputies was revoked, and becauſe they had baſely abandoned the Generals, and all thoſe to whom the company had granted arreſts of union. The Prince of Conti ſaid with moderation enough, that he wondered they had concluded without him and the other Generals. The firſt Preſident replied, that the Generals had all along proteſted, that they had no ſeparate intereſt from that of the company, and that beſides they were left at liberty to ſend their own deputies. Mr. de Bouillon, who came abroad that day for the firſt time after his illneſs, ſaid, that Cardinal Mazarin being left prime Miniſter, all the favour he aſked of the parliament, was to procure him a paſs for his retiring ſafely out of the kingdom. The firſt Preſident told him that he had taken care of his intereſt, by inſiſting upon an equivalent for Sedan, which he might be ſure to have; to which Mr. de Bouillon anſwered, that theſe were nothing but words, which would never perſuade him to ſeparate from the other Generals. The noiſe began again with ſuch a fury, that the Preſident de Meſmes, who was treated moſt reproachfully upon his ſuffering Cardinal Mazarin to ſign, quaked for fear. This mighty noiſe ſtirred up the Duke de Beaufort and the Mareſchal de la Mothe. The firſt, putting his hand upon his ſword, ſaid, 'You may do what 'you pleaſe, Gentlemen, (ſpeaking to the deputies) 'this ſword ſhall never be drawn in favour of Mazarin.' You ſee how much in the right I was when I was ſaying at Mr. de Bouillon's, that in the heat people would be in at the deputies coming back, we ſhould not be able to rely for a quarter of an hour together upon any thing. I might have added, that we ſhould not be able to rely on ourſelves.

As the Preſident le Coigneux was propoſing to ſend the deputies back about what related to the intereſt of the Generals, and about the getting the articles which

the company did not approve of, to be reformed, a great noiſe was heard in the court-hall, which alarmed the juggler, and put a ſtop to his ſpeech. The Preſident de Bellievre was about ſpeaking in the ſame tone, but was interrupted by a ſecond noiſe greater than the firſt. The tip-ſtaff that waited at the door of the grand chamber, came in and ſaid with a trembling voice, that the mob would ſpeak with Mr. de Beaufort. He went out and made a ſpeech to them that appeaſed them for a moment. But they began their noiſe again as ſoon as he had left them. The Preſident de Novion ſtepping out to enquire what the matter was, met with one Du Boiſle, a ſorry advocate of ſo little note, that I had never heard him named before. He was at the head of a prodigious mob, moſt of whom had poinards in their hands, and he required the Preſident to have the articles of peace delivered to him, that Mazarin's name might be publicly burnt by the common hangman, at the place where criminals are executed. He told him beſides, that if the deputies had ſigned the treaty voluntarily they ought to be hanged, if not they ought to be diſclaimed. The Preſident de Novion, who was in no little trouble, repreſented to Du Boiſle, that the Cardinal's name could not be burnt, without burning at the ſame time that of the Duke of Orleans; but that they were ſending the deputies back to get the articles reformed. Nothing was heard all this while in the hall, in the galleries and in the palace-court, but a multitude of voices, crying: *No peace, no Mazarin; we muſt fetch our good King from St. Germains, and throw all the Mazarinians into the river.*

The firſt Preſident ſhewed on this occaſion a ſurprizing intrepidity. He found himſelf the object of the people's rage, and yet there was nothing in his countenance but what expreſſed an unſhaken ſteadineſs, and a preſence of mind that ſeemed to be more than natural, and that had ſomething in it ſuperior to ſteadineſs. He gathered the votes with the ſame liberty of mind that he would have done at any other time, and pronounced in the like manner the arreſt of the company,

company, formed upon the Presidents le Coigneux and De Bellievre's proposals. That arrest was, that the deputies should go back to Ruel, to treat about the pretensions and the interests of the Generals, and of all others that were joined to the party; and to obtain from the court, that Cardinal Mazarin should not sign the new treaty, which they were to enter upon there, both upon that subject and upon any other that might be put again in agitation.

That arrest or declaration passed for that day undigested as it was, because the clock had struck five before they had done, though they were assembled by seven in the morning; and because the people was so much incensed, that it was feared that they would break open the doors of the grand chamber. The first President was desired to go out by a back door, and go a bye way which would bring him to his house unperceived by any body. But to this he answered in these words: 'The court never hides itself. Were I 'assured to perish, I would not debase myself in that 'manner. Besides, that would serve but to embolden 'the seditious: they would soon find me out in my 'house, if they thought that I feared them here.' And hearing me beseeching him not to expose himself, till I had tried to bring the people to a temper; he said to me in a bantering manner: *Pray, my good Lord, speak a good word for me.* It is plain by this that he thought me the author of the sedition, in which he wronged me extremely. I felt however on this occasion nothing in me but what tended to an admiration of his intrepidity. I put him into the hands of Caumartin, that he might keep him till I came back. I desired Mr. de Beaufort to keep the door safe against the people's entering, or the parliament's going out. I went round by the Buvettes *, and when I was in the great hall, I got upon an attorney's bench, and beckoned to the people with

* Places where the Counsellors of the Parliament go to warm and refresh themselves, and where none but Counsellors have the privilege to enter. There are other places adjoining to the parliament house, called likewise Buvettes, for those that have law-suits. Each chamber has its Buvette, which is kept at the King's charge.

my hand, at which silence was made, and every one prepared to hear me. I said all that I could to appease the sedition, after which Du Boisle came towards me, asking me audaciously if I would pass my word that the parliament would refuse to stand to the peace signed at Ruel: I told him that I was very sure of it, provided that the commotion ceased, but that if it continued, it would oblige those that had the best intentions for the party, to find out all possible means to avoid falling into such inconveniences. I acted in a quarter of an hour's time a great many different parts. Sometimes I prayed, sometimes I spoke in a commanding tone, sometimes in a threatening one. At last, when I thought that I had at least some instants in my own power, I came back to the first President, whom I pushed before me, holding him embraced, whilst Mr. de Beaufort was doing the like with the President de Mesmes. We came away in that manner, the rest of the parliament following in a body with their under officers at their head. The people were extremely clamorous, and we heard even some voices mentioning the name of Republic; but nothing was attempted against us. Mr. de Bouillon run a greater risk than any body else, being near to have been shot by a scoundrel of the mob who took him for a Mazarinian.

On the 14th it was agreed, after great contests, that the verbal process of the proceedings at the conference, and at the passing the articles, which the day before nobody would hearken to, should be read the next morning.

That was performed on the 15th, but not without a great deal of heat and many sharp words. They agreed at last that an arrest should be put out in these words.

'The court of parliament has accepted the accommodation and the treaty, and has ordered that their deputies should return to St. Germains, to insist upon obtaining the reformation of some articles: that is, of that relating to the companies going to St. Germains to hold there a bed of justice: of that which forbids the assemblies of the chambers, which his Majesty shall be most humbly desired to permit in some certain cases:

'of

'of that which permits the loans, which is the most pernicious of all to the public, by reason of the consequences: and the deputies shall likewise treat about 'what relates to the concerns of the Generals, and of 'those that have declared for the party; jointly with 'such deputies, as they shall please to send themselves 'to treat in their several names for their own private 'concerns.'

The 16th, as that arrest was reading, Machaut, a Counsellor of the Parliament, observed that instead of the words, *to insist upon and obtain*; it was put down *to insist upon obtaining*; and he asserted that the sense of the company was, that the deputies should *insist upon and obtain*; and not that they should *insist upon obtaining*. The first President and the President de Mesmes asserted the contrary with obstinacy; the heat was great in people's minds, but as they were putting the thing to the vote, Saintot, Lieutenant of the Ceremonies, delivered to the first President a letter from Mr. le Tellier, which expressed the satisfaction that the King had received for what the parliament had voted the day before, and that he had sent passes for the deputies which the Generals were to send. These few soft words calmed the tempest that had arisen, and there was no more said about the question which Machaut had moved. Miron, a Counsellor and a deputy of the parliament of Rouen, who had on the 13th made his complaints in due form to the parliament, that a peace had been signed without the concurrence of the company of which he was member, and who came this day to renew his said complaints, could hardly be heard. The first President was only pleased to tell him, that if he had any memorial to deliver relating to the interests of his company, he might go along with them to the conference. The court rose after this, and the deputies went their way to Ruel in the afternoon.

I am now to tell you what passed at the Town-house the evening of this same day, which was the 16th of March. What had happened at the parliament upon the 13th had obliged the company to have the palace,

that is, the place where they hold their aſſemblies, guarded by the Colonel's companies belonging to the city, who were ſtill more incenſed than the mob againſt the Mazarinian peace (for ſo they called it) but from whom the parliament thought themſelves in leſs danger, becauſe the citizens, of which they were made up, were againſt pillaging. Thoſe that were choſen that day for guarding the palace were taken from the neighbourhood, as having a greater intereſt than any to prevent any pillage, and it happened in reality that I had them very much in my dependance. The reaſon of it was that I always had had a great regard for them, becauſe they lived likewiſe in the neighbourhood of the Archbiſhop's palace, and becauſe they outwardly appeared attached to Mr. Chemplaſtreux, the firſt Preſident's ſon, who was their Colonel. That choice therefore could not but be very uneaſy to me, becauſe it gave occaſion to charge me with the inſults which they ſometimes threatened to commit, and becauſe the preventing their tumult was more likely to be thought the work of Mr. de Champlaſtreux than mine, he being their Colonel: ſo that I had cauſe to fear of the one ſide to be blamed, and of the other I could not expect to be thanked. That ſituation is as rare as it is cruel, and it is perhaps one of the moſt uneaſy I ever found myſelf in. That guard, ſo unhappily choſen, was ten times upon the point of inſulting the parliament, and did in reality inſult ſome particular members of that body. They threatened among others the Preſident de Thoré to throw him into the river. I ſlept neither night nor day in this conjuncture, my time being wholly ſpent in preventing the diſorder. The firſt Preſident and his adherents ſeeing things going on ſo quietly, grew ſo bold that they even took an advantage from it againſt us, provoking in ſome manner with their reproaches and complaints, the Generals, at a time when if the Generals had but anſwered loudly thoſe complaints, it had not been in their power to prevent the people from tearing the whole parliament to pieces. The Preſident de Meſmes tried to provoke them by ſaying that their troops had not acted

reflected with vigour enough; and Payen, a Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, spoke in a very impertinent manner to Mr. de Bouillon, who bore it with an extream moderation. That Duke however reflected seriously upon that usage, and told me, as we were coming together after the rising of the courts, that I knew the temper of the parliament better than he did. He came in the evening to the Town-house, and made there a speech to the Prince of Conti and the other Generals, of which this is the substance.

'I could never have believed what I see of the parliament. On the 13th, they refuse even to hear the peace of Ruel mentioned, and on the 15th they agree to it, abating a few articles. They send back, on the 16th, the same deputies that had signed that peace against their order, without setting any regulation or limitation to their power. They go further: They use us most opprobriously for complaining that they have treated without us, and that they have abandonned Mr. de Longueville and Mr. de Turenne. Nay this is but little: it is to us they owe their not being torn to pieces, and to save their lives we must hazard ours. I own that we ought in prudence to act in this manner, and what I have said, Sir (said he, turning himself and speaking to me) is not to find fault with you for what you have all along said, but to blame ourselves for our constant manner of answering you. (Then turning to the Prince of Conti) Yes, Sir, said he to him, I own that we have no other way left but to be undone, with that company, which we must expect, if we do not stop their proceedings. I therefore submit to the advice that the Coadjutor opened some days ago at my house, and I am persuaded that if your Highness delays to execute it, we shall in two days time have a peace more unsafe and more shameful than the first.'

The court, which was each moment informed of all the steps the parliament took, was now pretty sure of that company's coming quickly into their measures, which was the reason that they grew much cooler there

in respect of private negotiations. This made the Generals hearken the sooner to what Mr. de Bouillon had said. They agreed, upon the whole, to what he proposed, and were only to debate upon the manner of performing it, and of acquainting the parliament with it. They put off that debate till the next day at three in the afternoon, and resolved to meet at Mr. de Bouillon's, where they thought that they should be more quiet than at the Town-house. I promised to discuss the matter that night with the President de Bellievre, who had all along been of a like opinion to mine upon the point now resolved upon. We were just parting, when Mr. d'Elbeuf had notice sent him that Don Gabriel de Toledo was at his house, and staid there for him. We made no doubt but that he had brought the ratification of the treaty which the Generals had signed, and Mr. de Bouillon and I went along with Mr. d'Elbeuf in his coach, to wait on him. He had brought (as we had guessed) that treaty ratified by the Archduke, but the chief cause of his coming was to try whether he could renew the treaty that I had proposed about a general peace. That gentleman being of a pretty fiery temper could not refrain telling Mr. de Bouillon, with some anger, that they were not well pleased with him at Brussels. But he was easily appeased when Mr. de Bouillon had acquainted him with what they were about to do, and how opportunely he was come to see my first propofals complied with, which was to be the very next day. He came that night to sup with Madam de Bouillon, whom he had formerly known, when she was maid of honour to the Infanta. He told her in private, that the Archduke would be much beholden to her if she could oblige me to accept 10000 pistoles which he was ordered to present to me from his Catholic Majesty. Madam de Bouillon did her best to persuade me, but without success. I got myself off in a very respectful manner, but such however as gave the Spaniards to understand how hard it was to tempt me as to that point. I have paid dear since for using myself to those refusals; for though I was in the right in this occasion, it accustomed

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me to do the like in some conjunctures when it was nonsensical for me, not to accept what I was offered, had I afterwards thrown it into the river. *It is not always a sure game to refuse to accept gratifications from persons that are above us.* Supper being over, as we were talking together in Madam de Bouillon's closet, Briquemaut came in with consternation in his looks. He took her aside, and whispered something in her ear. At that she fell a weeping, and turning to Don Gabriel de Toledo and me: 'Alas!' cried she, 'we are undone; Mr. Turenne's army has abandoned him.' The express that brought the news was then let in, who told us succinctly the thing. The money that the court had sent had gained most of the regiments, and except two or three, the rest had failed him. It was even well for Mr. de Turenne that he could prevent being arrested. He made his escape, in company with five or six others, and retired to the Landgravess * of Hesse, who was both his relation and friend.

Mr. de Bouillon was struck down with this news, and I was not much less troubled at it than he. I will not be positive that I was not mistaken, but it seemed to me as if Don Gabriel de Toledo was not much afflicted at it, either because he thought that we should thereby be the more dependant upon Spain, or because his gay temper suffered him not to take our party-affairs too much at heart. The Duke de Bouillon was not long before he thought upon expedients to repair that evil. We sent for the President de Bellievre, who had received that moment a letter from Mr. de Villeroi with an account of this news. That letter likewise acquainted him that the first President, and the President de Mesmes had declared, that if affairs did not come to an accommodation they would return no more to Paris. Mr. de Bouillon, who by losing Mr. de Turenne's army had lost what made him most considerable, saw very well that the hopes with which he had flattered himself of being the umpire of the party, had

* Amelia-Elizabeth, wife to William, Landgrave of Hesse. That Lady was Mr. de Turenne's cousin-german.

no longer any foundation, and that made him return to his first disposition, which was to carry things to extremes. He took occasion from Mr. de Villeroi's letter to tell us, that we might judge by what the first President and the President de Mesmes had declared, that what we had projected to do, would meet with no great difficulty in its execution.

I must own here to you, that I wanted much of the presence of mind that was necessary on this occasion; for instead of holding my tongue in the presence of the Spanish Envoy, and of staying till he was gone before I opened my mind freely to Mr. de Bouillon, and to the President de Bellievre, I immediately made answer to what Mr. de Bouillon had said, that things were now much altered, and that what might have been very easy to bring to pass in the parliament before the desertion of Mr. de Turenne's army was known, was now become impossible, and even ruinous. I enlarged upon that subject, and fell thereby into inconveniences from which it was very difficult for me to disintangle myself.

Don Gabriel de Toledo, who had orders to open himself to me, took care on the contrary to keep himself intirely hid, as soon as he saw the alteration which Mr. de Turenne's news had wrought upon me, and he formed cabals with some of the Generals, which as you shall hear, caused me not a little trouble.

Mr. de Bouillon, who was conscious to himself that his delays had brought matters to this pass, said slyly to Don Gabriel de Toledo, at the opening of a discourse directed to him, as intending to explain what had passed before; that it was at least some sort of good luck, that the bad news about Mr. de Turenne's army was come before they had opened to the parliament what they intended. His reason for it was, because if it had been done before, the parliament finding themselves engaged upon a wrong foundation, had turned of a sudden against us; whereas, said he, we may find some other matter to serve for a foundation to what we are to propose; and in my opinion, added he, it is what we are now to debate upon. I was immediately struck with the fallacy of that way of reasoning, which took for granted the thing that was in question.

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I never knew a man that understood that piece of sophistry better than Mr. de Bouillon did. I had often heard him say that Count Maurice, Prince of Orange, used to reproach Barnevelt (whom he caused afterwards to be beheaded) that he would overthrow the States of Holland by putting perpetually the change upon them, and for taking (as in this case) the thing in question to be certainly granted. That made me in a jesting manner remember it to him on this occasion. I argued with him, that nothing could now prevent the parliament from making a peace; that all the efforts that should be made, to stop that peace, would but hasten it; and that was, I said, the ground we ought to debate upon. Mr. de Bellievre observing that our contests began to grow warm, proposed that either side should write down his reasons. This is what I dictated unto him, and which I had kept among my papers writ with his own hand, till five or six days before I was arrested. I remember that he was in some pain about it, and asking me for it, I gave it him back. It was great luck for him that I did so; for it is likely that that paper might have been of prejudice to him when he was made first President.

'I have often said, that all companies are but like 'a mob, which can be relied upon only for the present 'instant. This you have experienced, it may be, an 'hundred times for these two last months, and you 'might have experienced it a thousand, had you assisted 'at the assemblies of the parliament. Another thing 'which I have observed of that company is, that pro-'positions there are but a kind of flowers that are liked 'to-day because they are fresh, and disliked to-morrow 'because they begin already to fade. These reasons 'have hitherto obliged me to press you in the manner 'I have done, not to miss the opportunity of Mr. de 'Turenne's declaring for us, to fix the parliament 'intirely in our interest. Nothing could have pro-'duced that effect but the proposal about a general 'peace, which would have given us a pretence to keep 'ourselves armed during the negotiation.

'Though Don Gabriel be not a Frenchman, he 'knows enough of our customs not to be ignorant that

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'a propoſal like this, which tends to no leſs than to 'oblige our King to make a peace without his conſent, 'requires great preparations before-hand with the par-'liament, ſuppoſing at leaſt that our intent is to bring 'that propoſal to any effect. When ſuch a thing is 'propoſed only to amuſe thoſe to whom you ſpeak, or 'to ſerve for a pretence for private perſons to act with 'greater liberty, which was our caſe when we pre-'ſented lately Don Joſeph d'Illeſcas to the parliament, 'it may be ventured upon with leſs caution, becauſe 'the worſt that can happen is that the propoſal be re-'jected. But when the intent is to bring it to be ac-'cepted and effected, and when you have it in view, 'even to make uſe of it, till ſuch time it be effected, 'to fix a company which you cannot otherwiſe depend 'upon, I dare maintain that the failing in your at-'tempt, for want of timing it, is more prejudicial to 'you, than the bringing it about would be advanta-'geous, if it was well timed. The name of an army 'made up of Weymarians, was of itſelf able to have 'dazzled the parliament the very firſt day. It was 'what I told you, but you had your reaſons for delay-'ing, which I yielded to. Mr. de Turenne's name, 'and that army, might ſtill, in all appearance, have 'engaged the parliament three or four days ago. I 'ſaid it again to you, and you again had your reaſons 'to delay: I ſuppoſed them to be good, and I ſtill 'yielded to you. You came yeſterday back to my 'opinion, which indeed I continued to ſtick to, though 'I ſaw that the propoſal in queſtion had already loſt 'much of its luſtre; but had not Mr. de Turenne's 'army failed him, I believe that we might have 'brought it to paſs, not perhaps ſo eaſily as we had at 'firſt, but yet in a manner that had produced in a great 'meaſure the neceſſary effect. Things are much al-'tered; for what have we now to ground our propoſals 'upon, for a general peace, to the parliament? Our 'troops here? You have heard what was ſaid of them 'this very day in the grand chamber. Mr. de Lon-'gueville's army*? You know what it conſiſts in.

* See what Mr. de St. Evremont ſays on that ſubject, in the account he gives of Mr. de Longueville's retreat into Normandy.

'We cry it up as if it was of 7000 foot and 3000 'horse; but above half that number is wanting to it; 'besides, you know that we have so often spoke, and 'always in vain of its joining ours, that we dare no 'longer mention it. What will therefore be the con-'sequence of our proposal now to the parliament about 'a general peace, except only to make them believe 'and say, that we have no other design in this, than 'to break the treaty which they are upon, for their 'own accommodation with the court, which is the 'very best way to bring those that were against it, to 'be now for it. This is the spirit which all compa-'nies are moved by, and that of the parliament more 'than of any other. If we execute what we had re-'solved upon, we shall not have forty votes for order-'ing the Deputies to come immediately back to Paris, 'in case the court refuses to give ear to our proposal, 'and yet without that, all the rest will signify little, 'and will consist in words that will not bind the par-'liament: the court will likewise come off that same 'way; and in the mean time, we shall give cause to 'those of Paris and of St. Germains to think that we 'act in a very great concert with Spain.'

The President de Bellievre having read this aloud to the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon, and to Mr. de Brissac, who came in at that time back from the camp; we immediately took notice, that Don Gabriel de Toledo, who was present all the while, knew no more of our affairs than we could have done of those of great Tartary. He had wit, sprightliness, abundance of good grace, and ability too, for ought I know; but a grosser ignorance, in respect at least to the matters in question, I hardly ever have known. It is a mighty fault to employ such negotiators. We took notice, that Mr. de Bouillon contested my reasons no further than was necessary to let Don Gabriel see that he did not agree with my opinion: 'From which' (said he, whispering me in the ear) 'it is true, I differ, for the 'reasons which I shall to-morrow acquaint you with.'

It was two in the morning before we parted; and the refreshment I met with at home, was a letter of Laigues,

Laigues, of only two or three lines of common writing, but of seventeen whole sides writ in cypher. I spent the rest of the night in decyphering it, and every word I met with gave me a new trouble. The letter was of Laigues's own hand, but in Noirmoutier's name, as well as his own. The substance of it was, that we had been extremely to blame in wishing that the Spaniards should not advance within the kingdom: that the people every where were so incensed against Mazarin, and so well affected to the party, and to the defence of Paris, that they came from all parts to meet the Spanish army; that we ought therefore to be in no manner of fear about its march, as if the public would resent it from us; that the Arch-duke was a saint, who would chuse to die ten thousand deaths, rather than take hold of any advantage that was not agreed upon; that Fuensaldagne was in the main a sincere man, from whom nothing ill was to be feared: the letter concluded with an information that the body of the Spanish army was to be at Vandecourt upon such a day; the van at Pont-à-verre, upon such another, where the army intended to stay for some days, after which, the Arch-duke designed to advance to Dammartin, and there post himself; that Fuensaldagne had given them so strong reasons for that march, that they found none to oppose it, and that they gave therefore their consent, and even their approbation to it: that Fuensaldagne had desired them to give me private notice of it, and to assure me that he would do nothing but in concert with me. The time of going to bed was past before I had decyphered this letter; besides, what rest could I expect to have found in bed, in the cruel agitations it put me into, which were still increased by all the circumstances that might exasperate them. I knew that the defection of Mr. de Turenne's army would put the parliament farther off than ever from engaging in a war. I knew that the deputies at Ruel would still become bolder than they were at first, by the good success they had met with in their prevarication: I knew that the people at Paris would be as ready to admit the Arch-duke within the city, as they would the Duke of Orleans.

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I knew that the Arch-duke, by means of his beads, which were never out of his hands, and Fuenſaldagne by means of his money, would in a week's time be more maſters there than all of us put together: I found that Fuenſaldagne, whoſe ability was of the greateſt, had already worked upon Noirmoutier and Laigues, to as great a degree as if he had bewitched them: I ſaw Mr. de Bouillon relapſing to his firſt views of carrying things to extremes: I ſaw that the court, where they believed themſelves ſure of the parliament, were puſhing our Generals headlong into the ſame way, by the contempt which they began afreſh to expreſs for them: I ſaw that that diſpoſition of affairs was carrying things to a popular commotion, which would deſtroy the parliament; which would bring the Spaniards into the Louvre; and which was likely to undo the ſtate: but above all, I ſaw that my credit with the people, both by Mr. de Beaufort's means, and by my own, with the names of Noirmoutier and Laigues, who had their character from me, would not fail to intitle me to the ſad and fatal honour of having brought theſe great things about, the firſt conſequence of which would be Fuenſaldagne's care to cruſh me, and bring me to nothing.

Theſe thoughts troubled me all the morning long, till at laſt, I reſolved to communicate them to my father, who for above twenty years had retired among the fathers of the oratory, and who never would hear of any of my intrigues. As I went along, a thought came into my head, which was to contribute underhand all that I could to the peace, that the State, which appeared to me upon the brink of ruin, might thereby be ſaved; but ſeemingly to oppoſe it, that I might thereby preſerve my credit with the people, and remain at the head of an unarmed party, which it would be in my power to keep ſo, or to arm, if I found it requiſite. The like thought, but much undigeſted, came at firſt into my father's head; and knowing him to be a man of great moderation, I judged that it was not ſo remote from a juſt medium, as I at firſt feared. Neither did we find it ſo hazardous by much as it appeared,

peared, when we had once examined it thoroughly; and that brought to my remembrance an observation that I have sometimes made: *That what appears hazardous and is not such, seldom fails to be a wise choice.* What confirmed me more in this opinion, was that my father, to whom very advantageous offers in my behalf had two days before been made, by the channel of Mr. de Laincourt who was at St. Germains, owned that I could find nothing that would secure me that way. We fetched off the rust (if I may say so) of the expedient that had come into both our heads, and we gave it what colouring and what strength we could; so that I resolved upon following it myself, and likewise upon going about that very afternoon to persuade, if possible, Messieurs de Bouillon, de Beaufort, and de la Mothe, to do the like.

Mr. de Bouillon put me off, and put off our meeting with the others, till the next day. I own that I never suspected his design in it, and that I did not discover it till that evening, when I found Mr. de Beaufort fully convinced that all we had now left to do, was the shutting up the city gates to the deputies; the turning out the parliament; the making ourselves masters of the Town-house, and the causing the Spanish army to advance to our suburbs.

The President de Bellievre had just before informed me that Madam de Montbazon had spoke to him in the same language, and that began to open my eyes, and to make me see the folly which I had committed the night before at Mr. de Bouillon's, when I spoke in so plain a manner, in the presence of Don Gabriel de Toledo. That gentleman has since told me, that he staid the next evening four or five hours with Madam de Montbazon, and had promised her 20,000 crowns down, with a yearly pension of 6000, in case she should bring Mr. de Beaufort to what the Arch-duke desired of him. The Envoy was not unmindful of the other Generals. He bought Mr. d'Elbeuf cheap enough; he gave the Mareschal de la Mothe some remote hopes of finding out some way of an accommodation for the dutchy of Cardonne: in short, I observed the day

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these gentlemen and I met together, that the Spanish Catholicon * had not been spared among the drugs that were vended at this meeting. They all appeared persuaded that the defection of Mr. de Turenne's troops left the party no other choice, than to render ourselves masters, by means of the people, both of the Parliament and of the Town-house. I should tire you out, should I repeat all I said against that advice. Mr. de Bouillon, who by losing his brother's army had lost his greatest likelihood of obtaining from the court advantageous terms, had nothing now that kept him from engaging thoroughly with Spain. He would not understand what I said, but I got the better of Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Mothe, by convincing them that they would find no post in the party fit for them, because in a fortnight's time the whole party would be governed by Spanish councils. The Mareschal de la Mothe came easily over to my side, but knowing that Don Francisco Pizarro was gone the day before to Mr. de Longueville, to whom Mr. de la Mothe was intirely attached, I could not get that gentleman to speak altogether positively. Mr. de Beaufort did not hesitate, though I could perceive by a great many signs that he had been well catechised by Madam de Montbazon, that Duke making use of some expressions which I knew to be altogether hers. Mr. de Bouillon said to me with some heat: 'But if we had done what you 'proposed but some days ago, had not the defection of 'my brother's army brought us into the very same con-'dition we now are in? And yet you reckoned, even 'in case of that defection, to continue the war with 'our troops, with those of Mr. de Longueville, and 'those that are levying for us all the kingdom over.' 'Pray, Sir,' (answered I) 'be pleased to add, with 'the parliament of Paris, having declared and entered 'into engagements about a general peace. For if the 'parliament, which will now refuse to engage, having

* During the league in France, that name was given to the intrigues of the court of Spain, which stirred up in France the animosity of the factious, under pretence of religion and of public good.

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'loſt Mr. de Turenne, had entered once into an engagement, we might in that caſe have reckoned on 'that company with as great reaſon, as we have little 'to reckon upon it now. When companies have been 'brought to a certain point, they go on of themſelves, neither is there any fear of their falling back 'when they are once fixed. The propoſal about a 'general peace had done it, in my opinion, at the 'time of Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us. We 'have loſt that opportunity, and I am convinced that 'it is now too late to mention that propoſal. I believe, Sir, that you are as fully perſuaded of it, as I. 'We only differ in opinion, in that you think that 'we may be able to purſue the work by means of the 'people, and my opinion is that we ought not to 'uſe that means. This is the old queſtion that has 'already been ſo often debated.'

Mr. de Bouillon, who was unwilling to bring this matter again into debate, having ſincerely owned, in two or three occaſions, that I was in the right as to that; turned ſhort upon me, and ſaid: 'Don't let 'us diſpute. Granting that we ought not to make 'uſe of the people in this conjuncture, what are we 'to do? Give us your advice.' 'My advice (ſaid 'I) is odd and extraordinary. It is this: we cannot 'prevent the peace but by ſetting the people about 'ruining the parliament. We cannot maintain the 'war, ſupported by the people, without becoming 'dependants of Spain. We cannot obtain a peace 'from the court without conſenting to ſee Mazarin in 'the miniſtry'——Mr. de Bouillon, who with the phyſiognomy of an ox, had the perſpicacity of an eagle, without giving me time to go on: 'I un'derſtand you (ſaid he) you will ſuffer the peace to 'be concluded, and at the ſame time you do not in'tend to be included in it.' 'I will do more (an'ſwered I) for I will oppoſe the peace; in no other 'manner, it is true, than by giving my vote againſt 'it, and by procuring the votes of thoſe that will do 'the like with me.' 'I underſtand you ſtill (replied 'Mr. de Bouillon) that thought is great and refined.

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'It well becomes you, and may even become Mr. de Beaufort; but it can only ſuit with you two.' 'If it was ſo (anſwered I) I would ſooner cut out my tongue than propoſe it. You might act that part with us with profit to you. But if you think fit to act another, it will be even convenient and advantageous to you that we ſhould go on our own way. I am perſuaded that thoſe that will perſiſt in aſking as a previous condition to the peace, the excluſion of Mazarin, will remain maſters of the people long enough to make uſe of ſome favourable occaſion, which fortune never fails to offer in ſuch unſettled times as theſe. And pray, Sir, who can act that part more worthily than yourſelf, conſidering your ability and the reputation you have acquired? We are already the people's favourites, Mr. de Beaufort and I. You may, by acting that part, become likewiſe to-morrow the favourite of the people. We ſhall be looked upon, as the only prop of the publick hope. All the errors into which Mazarin ſhall fall will turn to our account, and his regard for us will even preſerve the publick from ſome errors which he might otherwiſe commit, all which will make us to be highly regarded by the Spaniards. The Cardinal, conſidering his inclination for entering into treaties, will not only ſhew ſome regard for us, but will not fail to take ſome ſteps towards us. All theſe advantages do not perſuade me however, that the way I propoſe is abſolutely good. I ſee all the inconveniences that attend it, and am not ignorant, that amongſt the many accidents to which we muſt expoſe ourſelves by following that road, we may meet with ſome that will prove moſt dangerous. But in my opinion, we ought to run that hazard, ſince we are ſure to meet with accidents ſtill more dangerous in the common road. It is needleſs to repeat thoſe which we are like to meet with in continuing the war, and it is eaſy to foreſee at once the danger of a peace, under an offended miniſter, who will not think himſelf perfectly ſecure in the poſt he is reſtored to, but by affecting our ruin. Theſe conſi-

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'derations convince me that the way which I have pro-
'posed suits all of you, at least as well as it does me. But
'supposing it otherwise, I am sure, however, that it is
'your interest that I should myself go on in it, be-
'cause it will facilitate your accommodation, by giv-
'ing you a larger time to treat before the peace is
'compleated, and by obliging Mazarin, after it is
'concluded, to have greater regard for those, whose
're-uniting with me he may stand in fear of.'

Mr. de Bouillon, who still had it in his head that he might find his account in carrying things to extremes, smiled at my last words: 'Remember (said he) your 'bantering me but very lately about Barnevelt's rheto-'rical figure: give me leave to turn now the jest upon 'you. For by your way of reasoning, you take it 'for granted that we must suffer the peace to be con-'cluded, and that is the thing in question, because it 'is still possible for us to continue the war, by master-'ing the parliament by means of the people.' 'Sir (answered I) I grounded what I have said only upon 'your saying that that dispute must be laid aside, and 'upon your desiring me only to explain to you what 'other views I might have; but I find that you are 'now for renewing that dispute.' 'I am so, (said he) 'because it never came to a determination. Are you 'willing to leave it to the majority of votes?' 'With 'all my heart (replied I) nothing is more reasonable: 'we are all upon the same bottom; we must either 'perish or be saved together. Mr. de Beaufort here is 'of my mind, and had we both of us the people more 'at our dispose still than we have, I think that we 'both should deserve to be disgraced, if we made use 'of our credit, I do not say to abandon the party, but 'to force any man of it, even the meanest, to enter 'into measures which he should think disadvantageous 'to his interest. I will submit myself to the majority 'and will sign their determination with my blood; 'provided, Sir, (said I, addressing still my speech to 'Mr. de Bouillon) that you are excepted out of the 'number of those to whom I shall engage myself in 'that manner; being, as you know, enough engaged

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'to you already, by the tyes of reſpect and of friend-'ſhip.' Mr. de Beaufort agreed to what I ſaid, and made the company merry by ſome of his apophthegms, which he never had more at hand than when they were leaſt wanting.

Mr. de Bouillon, who knew that the majority would not be of his ſide, and who had made that propoſal only becauſe he thought that I durſt not ſtand to it, acted a wiſe part by ſaying ſoftly to me, 'You know 'that neither you nor I ſhould find our account in diſ-'cuſſing this matter before perſons that might make an 'ill uſe of it. You are too wiſe, and I am not mad 'enough, to expoſe it to their view undigeſted as it is. 'Let us prepare it, and lick it up to a form, before 'they ſo much as imagine that we are about it. Your 'intereſt is not to become maſter of Paris by means of 'the people; mine is not to ſuffer the peace to be 'concluded, without coming to an accommodation 'with the court.' Then ſpeaking louder, 'Pray (ſaid 'he to me) aſk the Mareſchal de la Mothe if Ma-'demoiſelle de Toucy would conſent that he ſhould 'ſuffer the peace to be made without his being in-'cluded in it?' Mr. de la Mothe was known to be in love with that Lady, and it was then thought that he would have married her ſooner than he did. Mr. de Bouillon's intent by ſaying this, was to let me know that his regard for Madam de Bouillon hindered him from entering into the meaſures which I had propoſed, and he thought that that hint would be enough to inſinuate it to me without diſcovering it to the others. He took his time, when we were left ſome moments alone together, to explain himſelf to me in this manner; telling me beſides, that the expedient which I had propoſed came into his head, as ſoon as he heard of the defection of his brother's army, with this further improvement, that he had it in his power to make the Spaniards like it. He told me, that he had many times been upon the point of communicating it to me, but that his Lady had always oppoſed it with ſuch firmneſs, and ſo many tears, that he was forced at laſt to give her his word that he would no longer think of

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it, but would either come to an accommodation with the court, or engage in the service of Spain. 'I 'know (said he) that you would not advise me to do 'the last, help me, therefore, I beseech you, to per-'form the first: you see the trust I repose in you.'

I had time only to squeeze Mr. de Bouillon by the hand, by reason of the others coming back to us. The President be Bellievre came in with them, and Mr. de Bouillon related to him in few words, what had been said, and what I had proposed, adding, that he could not come into that proposal, because by doing so he run the risque of ruining his family for ever, whose ruin consequently would be charged to his account. He did all he could to persuade the President that it would be a wrong step in him to follow the measures which I had proposed, (I observed it, and shall acquaint you why he spoke in that manner to him) then turning to Mr. de Beaufort and to me: 'But '(says he) let us keep a good understanding together, 'as you have yourselves desired. Give your con-'sent to the peace, at least when you come to vote in 'the parliament, only upon condition of excluding 'Mazarin. I will act the same part and will hold the 'same language. Our firmness perhaps in this occa-'sion will give the parliament a greater vigour than 'we expect. But if that fails, suffer me to try to 'save my family by some accommodation, which in 'this present juncture cannot be a very good one, but 'which may become so in time.'

I was never touched with a greater sense of pleasure, than at this instant. I told Mr. de Bouillon, that my impatience of shewing how much I was his humble servant, was such, that it forced me to be wanting to the respect I owed Mr. de Beaufort by speaking before my turn, which I did in order to assure him that as to my particular, I set him free from all the engagements he had ever entered into with me. I besides gave him my word that I would do all that he thought fit for facilitating his accommodation; I told him that he might make use of my person and name, to make to the court what offers he should think most convenient; and as in the main I was resolved not to

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come to any accommodation with Mazarin, I left him the master of all the appearances of my conduct to make what use he pleased of them to his advantage.

Mr. de Beaufort, to whom it was usual always to out-do him that spoke last, made a sacrifice to him, with what emphasis he could, of all the concerns of the house of Vendôme, past, present, and to come. The Mareschal de la Mothe complimented him, and the President de Bellievre spoke high in his praise. We agreed immediately upon what all of us were to do, which Mr. de Bouillon undertook to bring the Spaniards to a liking of, provided that we engaged not to let them perceive that we had before-hand concerted the thing together. We took upon us (the Mareschal de la Mothe and myself) as well in our own, as in Mr. de Beaufort's behalf, to acquaint Mr. de Longueville with what Mr. de Bouillon intended to do in his own particular, not doubting but that he would approve of it, and do the like, because persons that are wavering are always glad of any overtures that have two ways, and that consequently do not press them to a choice. For that same reason we thought that Mr. de la Rochefaucaut would be no obstacle to us, either with the Prince of Conti, or with Madam de Longueville; so it was resolved, that that same evening Mr. de Bouillon should propose the matter to the Prince, in presence of all the generals. That conference was remarkable in this particular, that Mr. de Bouillon took care not to let fall a word which might give occasion to complain that he had had it in his thoughts to deceive them in the least, when at the same time he omitted not a word that might serve to cover his true design.

Before I come to speak more of it, I must give you an account of what he said to me, after those whom I have mentioned were gone, and that we were left to ourselves: 'Do not you pity me (said he) for the necessi-'ty which I am in to refuse the taking the only way 'that is safe for the present, and reputable for the 'time to come. I own that you have chosen that 'way, and if it was possible for me to follow it, I think

'without vanity, that I might even better it. You 'have obſerved the caution which I have uſed with 'the Preſident de Bellievre, in hiding from him the 'true cauſe of my not going the ſame way with you. 'You will approve of what I have done, when I have 'told you that that citizen worried me the other day 'for an hour long, upon account of the regard I have 'for my wife's ſentiments. I need not uſe that cau-'tion with you, becauſe I know that you will not 'blame me for not expoſing a wife whom I love ten-'derly, and eight children whom ſhe loves better 'than her life, in ſo hazardous a way as that which 'you have choſen, and which I would likewiſe chuſe 'were I without a family.'

I was moved with Mr. de Bouillon's ſentiments, and with the truſt he repoſed in me. My anſwer to him was, that far from blaming him, I reſpected him the more for it, and that his tender love to his Lady, which he was pleaſed to call a weakneſs, is one of thoſe things which is blamed by politicians but ap-proved of by moraliſts, becauſe it ſhews a goodneſs of heart, which by its being ſuperior to politicks, muſt likewiſe be ſuperior to intereſt.

We came one moment after to the Prince of Conti, whom we found at ſupper. Mr. de Bouillon deſired leave to ſpeak to him in the preſence of Madam de Longueville, of the Generals, and of the moſt conſi-derable perſons of the party. Some time being re-quired to aſſemble them all, the conference was put off till eleven at night, and in the mean while Mr. de Bouillon went to the Spaniſh Envoy's, whom he ac-quainted with our reſolution, but without diſcovering how we had concerted it together. He perſuaded them that that reſolution might prove very advanta-geous to them, becauſe our ſtanding firm againſt Ma-zarin would perhaps occaſion the breaking of the peace; but in caſe it proved otherwiſe, the part which I was reſolved to act could not but be for the time to come of the greateſt uſe to their affairs. He ſweetened this with all that might perſuade them that it was beſt for Spain that Mr. d'Elbeuf ſhould make his peace

with the court, because they were thereby rid of a man who was chargeable to them without doing them any service. As for his own accommodation, supposing that it came to be affected, of which he doubted much; it might likewise be useful to them, because the little trust there was to be put in Mazarin's words, gave him room beforehand to preserve all his old measures with Spain. And for the Prince of Conti, who was but a weather-cock, no reliance could be made upon his treating with them, nor but little upon Mr. de Longueville's, who loved always to treat with both sides. Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Mothe, de Brissac and de Vitri, would never separate from me, which made the thought of mastering the parliament to be now impracticable by my not improving it. These considerations, added to the order that the two Envoys had to agree in every thing to Mr. de Bouillon's advice, made them consent to whatever he proposed. He brought with the same ease the Generals to be of his mind, at the conference that was held at the Prince of Conti's. They were all charmed with a proposal that gave them leave to brave it every morning in the parliament, and left them at liberty to treat every evening with the court. The greatest piece of skill that I observed in Mr. de Bouillon's discourse, was his mixing with it some circumstances, which by the turn he was able to give them in case of need, would take away, when it should be thought necessary, all manner of belief, in relation to the ill use that might be made of them either with the court or with the Spaniards. Every one went away pleased from this conference, which lasted not above an hour and a half, and with which the Prince of Conti assured us that Mr. de Longueville would be extremely pleased. I went back with Mr. de Bouillon to his house, where we found the Spanish Envoys staying for him. I could easily perceive by their manners and their discourse, that Mr. de Bouillon had set off with advantage to them, both for himself and for me, the resolution which I had taken, not to come to any accommodation, upon which they used me with the utmost civility, and made me all manner of

offers. We easily agreed upon every thing that was to be done, because they liked whatever Mr. de Bouillon proposed; he built them a golden bridge for their withdrawing their troops with honour, and without seeming to do it out of meer necessity. He brought them to approve of whatever proposal any future occurence might occasion him to make. He made twenty several observations sometimes opposite to one another, to make use of afterwards as he should think fit. I told him after they were gone, that I never saw any body like him for persuading people that a quartan-ague was wholesome for them: 'Ay, but, said he, the worst is, 'that I must at this time persuade myself likewise 'of it.'

At my coming back, I found at my house Varicarville, whom the Duke de Longueville had sent to Paris. And here I think myself obliged to beg your excuse, that in my account of the civil war I have hitherto touched but slightly upon one of the chiefest scenes that was, or at least ought to have been acted in Normandy. Indeed from the beginning of these memoirs, I have related only what I have seen myself. But since I meet in my way Varicarville, the gentleman of the whole kindom whose word, in my opinion, is the most to be relied on; I think that I ought to give you a brief account of what passed in Normandy from the time that Mr. de Longueville left Paris to go thither, which was upon the 20th of January 1648-9.

You have already seen how the parliament and the city of Rouen declared for that Duke. Messieurs de Matignon and Beuvron, with the whole body of the gentry did the like. He was master of the citadels and towns both of Dieppe and Caën. The town of Lizieux, with its bishop *, declared likewise for him, and all the people of Normandy who were passionately in his interest, contributed gladly to the common cause. The King's money was seized upon in all places. Levies of men were made to the number, as was re-

* The Bishop of Lizieux, mentioned before, was dead, and this new Bishop was of the house of Matignon.

ported,

ported, of 7000 foot, and 3000 horſe; though in reality they amounted but to 4000 foot, and 1500 horſe. The Count d'Harcourt, whom the King ſent thither with a little flying camp, kept theſe towns, theſe forces, and the whole people in awe, and obliged the forces for almoſt the whole time to keep themſelves cloſe within the walls of Rouen, the only exploit they did in the field being the taking of Harfleur, a place not tenable, and of two or three ſmall caſtles that ſurrendered without fighting. Varicarville, who was my friend, and ſpoke in confidence to me, aſcribed that poor and ſilly conduct neither to Mr. de Longueville's want of courage, he being a ſtout ſoldier, nor to his want of experience, though he was no General. The only thing he aſcribed it to was his natural uncertainty, which made him continually ſeek for expedients. Anetonville, who commanded his company of Gens-d'Armes, was the man whom he employed in all his negotiations, and I had had notice from St. Germains by Madam de Leſdiguieres, that he had been ſecretly ſent thither in the month of February; but knowing Mr. de Longueville for one who could not forbear negotiating ſome way or other, even at the time that he was the leaſt intent upon any accommodation, I was not alarmed at that notice. What confirmed me in this opinion was, an anſwer which I received from Varicarville, to whom I wrote about it. He ſaid that I ought to know the ground which was never firm; but that I ſhould be informed in time if it grew ſofter.

When once I perceived how much Paris inclined to a peace, and that we were like to be carried away by that ſtream, I thought myſelf obliged to give notice of it to Mr. de Longueville. Varicarville was of opinion that I had acted wrong in that, becauſe he uſed to ſay even to Mr. de Longueville himſelf, that his friends ought to treat him as a ſick body, and do things for his ſervice without conſulting him. But I thought I had no right to uſe that freedom at a juncture when the parliament's prepoſterous way of acting might at every inſtant occaſion an unſound peace. I

fancied besides, that I had it in my power to remedy the evil which I knew such a notice was able to work upon a mind so wavering as that of Mr. de Longueville was. I sent Varicarville word to observe him narrowly, that he might at least be prevented from signing some private treaty to his prejudice. But I was mistaken in that, because Mr. de Longueville was as easily ruled by Anetonville at the end of an affair, as he was by Varicarville at the entering into it. Anetonville was continually persuading him to be of the same mind with the court; and Varicarville, who loved the Duke's person, and would have him preserve his dignity in his manner of living with the ministers, was driving him that way, when any occasion offered that might flatter a heart that was sound, and a mind that had nothing unsound in it but its want of steadiness.

'Twas six weeks after the opening of the civil war when I gave him the notice which I have mentioned. I found by Varicarville's letter, that Anetonville was upon the point of coming into waiting. He went sometime after to St. Germains, as I have mentioned, where, as I have learned since from Varicarville, he found neither his master's nor his own account. This obliged Mr. de Longueville to return into the great road, and to take hold of the conference at Ruel for the entering into a treaty. The Duke not approving my thoughts on all the particulars, of which I had ever given him a faithful account, sent me Varicarville to bring me over to his opinion, but under pretence of acquainting me with what Don Francisco Pizarro had been trying to do with him by the Archduke's order. This convinced Mr. de Bouillon and me, that we could not have sent more agreeable news to Mr. de Longueville than we did, by a gentleman whom we dispatched for that purpose, who was to acquaint him that we no longer kept him under restraint as to the matter of treating; and Varicarville, who was one of the most steady men in the whole kingdom, seemed in this occasion impatient for the obtaining passes for Anetonville, named by the Duke to

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assist at the conference at Ruel, so much was he persuaded that his master would commit as many weaknesses as he should remain moments in a party which he had not resolution enough to stick close to, to the very last. I return to what passed both at the parliament and at the conference.

I have told you that the deputies went back to Ruel the 16th of March. They went the next day to St. Germains, where the second conference was to be held at the Chancery. The first thing they did there was to read all the several demands which particular persons had made with all the eagerness possible in relation to their private interest, though our Generals, who had not been in that wanting to themselves, had all along stipulated that those demands should not be mentioned till the parliament's concerns should be adjusted. The first President went quite a contrary way to work, under pretence of shewing the Generals that their concerns were dearer to the parliament than their own were; but in truth with a design to discredit them with the public. I had foreseen this, and had therefore insisted that the Generals should not give their demands, till the articles which the parliament required to be reformed should be agreed on. But the first President bewitched them to that point, that it was no sooner known that the Generals were to be heard as to their concerns, than every officer of the army desired the like for himself, and thought that he had a right to address the first President about his demands. Mr. de Bouillon owned to me, that he had not sufficiently weighed that inconveniency, which gave the whole party a great air of ridicule. I made all imaginable efforts to prevent Mr. de Beaufort and the Mareschal de la Mothe from falling into the trap. They both had given me their word against it, but the Mareschal suffered himself to be won by the frivolous hopes which the first President and Viole baited him with. Mr. de Vendôme sent the Duke de Beaufort his son, his curse in due form if he did not at least ob-

tain the superintendency* of the seas which had been promised him at the beginning of the regency, as a recompence for the government of Britanny. The most disinterested thought that they should be the others dupes if they did not follow their example. Mr. de Retz †, who was informed that Mr. de la Trimouille‡, his neighbour, came in for the earldom of Rousillon, and had even some thoughts of coming in for the kingdom of Naples, has not forgiven me to this day that I did not undertake to get the generalship of the gallies to be restored to him. In short, I found Mr. de Brissac to be the only man that came not in *at that time* with his pretensions; but Matha, a man of little brains, having persuaded him that he wronged himself, put him upon retriving that false step, by his demanding afterwards a post which you shall in due time hear of. All these doings made me resolve to distinguish myself from the rest. I took hold of the declaration which the Prince of Conti sent to the parliament on the 19th of March, about his chusing the Count de Maure for his deputy at the conference, to declare publicly to the company, that I desired not to be included directly or indirectly in any thing relating to private concerns. This step which I was forced to take to prevent Mr. de Beaufort's slip being imputed to me, added to the ill effect which that shower of ridiculous pretensions had produced, hastened the General's proposal about the exclusion of Mazarin, which they did not intend to have made, but just at the time that it might have served, by reason of the Cardinal's fearful nature, for a spur to the negotiations which he had by several ways with every one of them.

* This employment was created in 1627, in favour of Cardinal Richlieu, in lieu of the dignity of great Admiral, which was surpressed as well as that of Constable, by an edict of that same year. Lewis the XIV. suppressed, in 1669, that superintendency of the seas, and set up again the dignity of great Admiral, which was given to Lewis, Count de Vermandois, his natural son by Mademoiselle de la Valliere.

† The Cardinal's brother.

‡ Henry de la Trimouille, Duke of Thouars, had some pretensions, but out of date, upon the kingdom of Naples.

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At Mr. de Bouillon's requeſt we all met that ſame day in the evening, which was the 19th of March, at the Prince of Conti's apartment. There it was reſolved by Mr. de Bouillon's means, that that Prince ſhould the next day declare to the parliament, that neither himſelf nor the other Generals had given in an account of their pretenſions, but from the neceſſity they were driven to of finding ſome means to ſecure themſelves, in caſe that Cardinal Mazarin continued miniſter: but that he proteſted both in his name, and in the name of all the perſons of quality that were joined to the party, that they would renounce all private pretenſions whatſoever, the moment that the Cardinal's excluſion was agreed to.

That declaration was made in very fine words upon the 20th. Had it been made before the bringing forth of that ſwarm of pretenſions, made as well by the Generals as the Subalterns, as Mr. de Bouillon and I had concerted it, I am perſuaded that it had given the party a greater credit, and put the court in a greater fear than I imagined. For there had been room to believe both at Paris and St. Germains, that the Generals coming to a reſolution of taking notice of their private intereſt, and of ſending deputies to treat about it, was but the ſequel of the deſign which they had formed of ſacrificing thoſe intereſts to the Cardinal's excluſion from the miniſtry. That error is, in my opinion, the greateſt that Mr. de Bouillon has ever fallen into. He excuſed himſelf upon Mr. d'Elbeuf's precipitancy to put his demands into the firſt Preſident's hands. But he muſt however be looked upon as the firſt cauſe of that error, by his being the firſt that gave way to private demands. *In great affairs, he that gives room to others to commit faults, proves often the moſt guilty*, which makes me look on this fault of Mr. de Bouillon's as a great one.

I muſt now take notice of the moſt fooliſh thing that ever I did in my life. I have mentioned how Mr. de Bouillon had promiſed the Spaniſh Envoys a golden bridge for the withdrawing their troops in caſe of a peace. But notwithſtanding their confidence in Mr.

de Bouillon, hearing nothing but of deputations and of conferences, they thought fit however to challenge from time to time the promise I had made them to prevent their being surprized. I had besides that engagement, a particular reason to stick to my word, from the friendship I had for Noirmoutier and Laigues, who would have taken it ill of me, if I had rejected their reasons for bringing me to consent to the approach of the Spanish army. But looking upon this engagement in the present posture of affairs as no longer honourable for me to continue in, I did all I could with Mr. de Bouillon to persuade him not to defer any longer the building that golden bridge, about which he had opened himself to me. But he put it off from day to day, because treating with the court as he did, by the Prince of Condé's mediation, about an equivalent for Sedan, it was for his advantage that the Spanish army should not retire so soon. However after some delay, his own probity joined to my reasons, got the better of his interest. I dispatched an express to Noirmoutier, and we spoke in a positive manner to the two Spanish Envoys. We made them sensible that the parliament's peace with the court might be finished in a quarter of an hour's time; that the Prince of Condé might in four days time be within reach of their army; and that the army which had been Mr. de Turenne's, was advancing under the command of Erlac, who was entirely dependant on the Cardinal. Mr. de Bouillon finished in this conversation the building of the golden bridge he had promised them. He advised them to fill up one of the blanks signed by the Arch-duke, in the form of a letter from that Prince to the Prince of Conti, wherein he should say, that to convince the world that he had entered France with no other intent than to procure a general peace to Christendom, and not with any design of making an advantage of the divisions of that kingdom, he offered to withdraw his troops the moment that the French King would please to name a place of meeting for the peace, and deputies to treat about it. That proposal, which in the present conjuncture could have no solid effect, was good enough

enough for Mr. de Bouillon's uſe, and there was no room to doubt but that the court (who would eaſily perceive that in reality that offer would only ſignify what they themſelves pleaſed) would conſent to it, at leaſt outwardly, and by that means would give the Spaniards a plauſible pretence of withdrawing their troops without any diſcredit to them.

The Bernardine Monk was not ſo well pleaſed with this golden bridge, but that he could afterwards tell me in private, that he had rather have choſen a wooden one to paſs over either the Marne or the Seine. Both Envoys however agreed to every thing which Mr. de Bouillon deſired, having an order ſo to do, and they willingly wrote the letter in the words I dictated. The Prince of Conti, who was indiſpoſed, deſired me to go from him to the parliament, to acquaint them with this pretended letter, which the two Envoys carried thither with a great deal of ceremony. I was ſimple enough to accept that commiſſion, opening thereby my enemies a way to make me paſs for a man acting altogether in concert with the Spaniards, at the time that I refuſed all their offers in relation to my private advantage, and that I was breaking all their meaſures, in order to preſerve the true intereſt of the kingdom from being hurt. There never was a piece of folly more compleat than this. Mr. de Bouillon was ſorry for it for my ſake, though he found in ſome meaſure his account in it. However in concert with him, I retrived that error in ſome ſort, by adding to the report which I made to the parliament on the 22d, that in caſe the Arch-duke did not exactly keep his promiſe, the Prince of Conti and the Generals had ordered me to aſſure the company in their name, that they would without any condition or delay, join all their forces to the King's army.

The reaſon why Mr. de Bouillon found in ſome meaſure his account in the fooliſh ſtep I had taken, was becauſe the Cardinal, who thought me altogether againſt the peace, ſeeing me take that ſtep much at the ſame time that the Count de Maure was ordered to declare for his excluſion at the conference, made no

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doubt but that the whole was a contrivance of mine. This put him into a greater fear than need was. His anſwer to the deputies of the parliament, and their manner of reporting it at the conference, ſhewed plainly that the Cardinal was alarmed. And as he commonly was cured of his fears no other way than by negotiating, which he was much in love with, he opened a larger door to the treaty begun by the Prince of Condé in favour of Mr. de Bouillon, becauſe he thought that that Duke had acted in concert with me in the ſteps that I had taken. But when he found that nothing followed thoſe ſteps, he infered from it that we had failed in our attempt of ſetting the parliament in a flame, and that he might therefore ſafely puſh us on.

The Prince of Condé, who was well affected towards Mr. de Bouillon and Mr. de Turenne's accommodation, wrote word to the firſt, that he had found of a ſudden the Cardinal entirely changed in relation to him. It was not hard for Mr. de Bouillon nor me to find out the reaſon why, which made us reſolve to give Mazarin a new laſh, that is, to attack him again perſonally, which was the thing he feared above all, though good ſenſe might have taught him to deſpiſe thoſe attacks, which, when all is done, did him but little harm. They were however of ſome advantage to Mr. de Bouillon as well as to me, though in a different manner. Mr. de Bouillon expected from it that it would ſet all negotiations forward; and it was my intereſt to ſignalize myſelf againſt Mazarin's perſon, when a treaty was ſo near concluded, which was like to procure peace to every body excepting me. Upon that foundation we both worked with ſo much ſucceſs, that we brought the Prince of Conti, much againſt his will, to propoſe to the parliament that they ſhould order their deputies to join with the Count de Maure about Mazarin's expulſion. The Prince of Conti made that propoſal upon the 27th, and as we had had two or three days time to prepare the minds of the people, it paſſed by eighty-two votes againſt forty, that the deputies ſhould be ordered that ſame day to inſiſt upon it. When it came to my turn to opine, I added, (and

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to perſiſt in it), but I had but twenty-five votes for me, which I was not ſurprized at. I have mentioned the reaſons which I had to diſtinguiſh myſelf upon that ſubject.

I had been near loſing my credit with the people and paſſing for a Mazarinian, becauſe upon the 13th of March I had prevented the firſt Preſident's being murdered, and becauſe upon the 23d and 24th I had oppoſed the ſelling Cardinal Mazarin's library. I ſet myſelf to rights again, both with them and with the hot men of the parliament, by my ſpeaking ſtrongly againſt the Count de Grancey, for his carrying his inſolence ſo far as to pillage a houſe belonging to Mr. Coulon, by my inſiſting on the 24th upon giving leave to the Prince d'Harcourt to take away the King's money from the ſeveral receivers hands in the province of Picardy; by my exclaiming on the 25th againſt a truce, which it had been ridiculous to refuſe in the time of a conference; and by my oppoſing on the 30th that which was agreed upon, though I knew that the peace was concluded. I return to the conference at St. Germains.

You have ſeen how maliciouſly the deputies had opened it by mentioning firſt every bodies private pretenſions. The court kept artfully thoſe pretenſions alive, by negotiating ſecretly with the moſt conſiderable perſons, till finding there, that they were ſure of a peace, they eluded by an artful anſwer moſt of thoſe pretenſions, which they diſtinguiſhed under two heads, that is, under that of Juſtice and that of Grace, reſerving to themſelves the power of explaining that diſtinction as they thought fitteſt. The firſt Preſident, and the Preſident de Meſmes, acted all this while in concert with the court againſt the deputies of the Generals, though they outwardly ſeemed to do the contrary; and by that means the court came off at a cheap rate, and diſburſed but very little ready money. The coin they paid people in was only promiſes, which Mazarin counted for nothing. He valued himſelf much for having blown away (thoſe were his terms) with a little chymical powder that multitude of pretenſions:

sions: but the sequel will shew you, that he had done wisely had he mixed a little gold with that powder.

The court came off more easily still, from the proposal made in the Arch-duke's name about a general peace. Their answer was, that they accepted it with joy, and they sent that same day Mr. de Brienne, secretary of state, to the Pope's Nuntio, and to the Venetian Ambassador, to confer with them as mediators about the manner of treating it.

As for what concerned Cardinal Mazarin's exclusion, which the Count de Maure had asked from the beginning, which the Duke de Brissac * pressed for jointly with Messieurs de Barriere and de Creci, the two other deputies from the Generals; and on which the deputies of the parliament insisted afresh, at least outwardly, as they were ordered to do by that company; the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, declared that they would never consent to it.

Some contests arose about the concerns of the parliament of Rouen, who had still their deputies at the conference, together with Danetonville, the Duke de Longueville's deputy; but at last all matters were adjusted.

There was little or no difficulty in relation to the articles which the parliament of Paris asked to be reformed. The Queen remitted the holding a bed of justice at St. Germains. She consented that no mention should be made in the declaration for the peace, of the parliament's being forbid to assemble for the remaining part of the year 1649, provided that the deputies would pass their word for it; the Queen on her side giving hers, that such and such declarations that had been before granted should inviolably be observed. The Queen promised not to press the restoring the Bastille, and even passed her word to leave it in the hands of Louvieres, old Broussel's son, who was made governor of it, after the taking of it by Mr. d'Elbeuf.

* Joli mentions but two deputies in all.

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The amnesty was granted in the very words that were desired, and in it were expressly included, the Prince of Conti, Messieurs de Longueville, de Beaufort, d'Elbeuf, d'Harcourt, de Rieux, de Lillebonne, de Bouillon, de Turenne, de Brissac, de Duras, de Matignon, de Beuvron, de Noirmoutier, de Sevigni, de la Trimouille, de Rochefoucaut, de Retz, d'Estissac, de Montresor, de Matha, de St. Germain d'Apchon, de Sauvebeuf, de St. Ibal, de Lauretat, de Laigues, de Chavagnac, de Chaumont, de Caumesnil, de Cugnac, de Crecy, d'Allicy, and de Barriere.

Some difficulties arose in relation to Noirmoutier and to Laigues, whom the court affected to distinguish from the rest by granting them an abolition *, as being more criminal than the others, because they were still actually and publicly in the Spanish army. Nay, the Chancellor shewed the deputies of the parliament an order of Noirmoutier's, whereby, as Lieutenant-general of the King's forces, under the Prince of Conti, he commanded the inhabitants of Picardy to bring provisions to the Archduke's camp; and a letter of Laigues's, wherein he solicited Bridieu, Governor of Guise, to surrender that place to the Spaniards, who promised in consideration thereof to release the Duke of Guise, who was taken prisoner at Naples. The Duke de Brissac, one of the deputies against the Generals, maintained these to be nothing but forged papers, and the first President joining with him, it was ordered that both Noirmoutier and Laigues should be included with the rest in the amnesty. The President de Mesmes, who would have been glad at heart if he could have defamed me, affected to say that he wondered why I was not expressly mentioned in the amnesty, adding, That a man of my dignity ought to be distinguished from the vulgar. Mr. de Brissac, who understood the world better than negotiating, wanted presence of mind in this occasion, and said, That it was requisite to know my mind about it. He sent a gentleman to that purpose, to whom I gave my answer in these words: 'Having done nothing in

* A particular pardon.

'what

'what has paſſed but what I thought tending to his 'Majeſty's ſervice, and to the true intereſt of the 'kingdom, I have ſo many reaſons to wiſh that when 'the King comes to be of age, his Majeſty may be 'rightly informed of it, that I beſeech the deputies 'not to ſuffer my name to appear in the amneſty.' I ſigned that note, which I deſired Mr. de Briſſac to deliver to the deputies of the parliament and of the Generals, in the preſence of the Duke of Orleans and of the Prince of Condé. He forbore doing it, at the deſire of Mr. de Liancour, who thought that this circumſtance would ſerve but to incenſe the Queen the more againſt me: he only ſpoke the ſubſtance of what I wrote, and I was not included by name in the amneſty. You cannot imagine to what degree that trifle helped to ſupport me with the public.

On the 30th, the deputies of the parliament came back to Paris. They made on the 31ſt their report to the parliament, upon which Mr. de Bouillon had pretty ſharp words with the firſt Preſident and the Preſident de Meſmes. His private negotiations had failed him, and what the deputies had done in his behalf was not ſatisfactory, becauſe they had only confirmed the former treaty about an equivalent for Sedan, the guaranty of which he thought not ſecure enough. Some thoughts came into his head the evening of that ſame day to imbroil matters anew, by means of a commotion which he fancied the people might eaſily be ſtirred up to in the diſpoſition they were in. But thoſe thoughts vaniſhed away, when he reflected on a thouſand circumſtances which convinced him, that even according to his own ſcheme that commotion could not but be unſeaſonable, of which circumſtances one of the leaſt was that the Spaniſh army was already withdrawn.

I could not but pity the Dutcheſs of Bouillon that evening: ſhe ſhed tears in abundance. It is certain that there have been times wherein Mr. de Bouillon has, of himſelf, and moved meerly by a ſpirit of negotiating, miſſed deciſive ſtrokes. That defect, to which he has appeared to me to be a little too ſubject, has ſometimes raiſed doubts in me whether he was capable of

of performing what otherwiſe his great qualities promiſed.

The firſt of April, which was Maundy-Thurſday of the year 1649, the declaration about the peace was verified by the parliament. I had had notice the night before that the people were gathered together with a deſign to oppoſe it, and even to force the guards that ſecured the parliament; and being buſy at Nôtre-Dame upon Thurſday about the ceremony of the Holy-Oils, I ſtaid longer about it than uſual, that I might be the readier to aſſiſt the parliament if it was attacked. As I was leaving the church, ſomebody came and told me that the commotion was begun at the Silverſmith's Key, and as I was going thither, I met one of Mr. de Bouillon's pages with a note for me, wherein he deſired that I would haſten to the parliament, becauſe he feared that the people not ſeeing me there, would take occaſion from it to mutiny, as being a ſign that I did not approve of the peace. I found the ſtreets full of people that were crying aloud: *No Mazarin: No peace:* I diſperſed thoſe whom I found aſſembled at the Marché-neuf, and upon the Silverſmith's Key, by telling them, that thoſe of Mazarin's party ſtrove to divide the people from the parliament; that they ought to be careful not to fall into their trap; that the parliament had their reaſons for acting as they did, but that nothing was to be feared from them in relation to Mazarin; that they might believe me as to that, ſince I gave them my word to come to no accommodation with him. This proteſtation removed all their fears: but when I came to the parliament, I found the guards there as much inflamed as the others were. Mr. de Vitri told me, that they had offered to maſſacre all thoſe whom he ſhould name to be Mazarinians. I appeaſed them by the ſame means I had done the others; and I came to the Grand Chamber, and took my ſeat there, before the deliberation was at an end. The firſt Preſident ſeeing me come in, ſaid, *that I had been mixing ſaltpetre with my holy oils:* I heard him, but took no notice of it, for if I had, and if what he had ſaid had been

been known in the great hall, it had perhaps not been in my power to save a single man of the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon, whom I told it to, complained of it that very afternoon to the first President, and made him ashamed of it.

That peace, which Cardinal Mazarin bragged he had bought very cheap, was not so beneficial to him as he hoped. He left for my use a leaven of dissatisfaction in the minds of people which he might easily have removed, and which proved of great service to me. The Prince of Conti went to St. Germains with Madam de Longueville, to make their court there, after having made their first visit to the Prince of Condé at Chaliot, which passed in the coldest manner on both sides. Mr. de Bouillon, to whom the first President had given on the day that the declaration was registered, fresh assurances of an equivalent for Sedan, was presented to the King by the Prince of Condé, who affected to protect him in his pretensions, and the Cardinal gave him all possible marks of civility. Finding that these examples were like to be more and more followed, I thought fit to declare myself sooner than I had resolved, in relation to the little safety that there was for me to go to court, where my capital enemy continued master. This I told the Prince of Condé, who came to Paris eight or ten days after the peace, and whom I saw at Madam de Longueville's. Mr. de Beaufort and the Mareschal de la Mothe spoke in the same strain. Mr. d'Elbeuf seemed as if he would have done so too, but the court got him over to their side for some consideration or other. Messieurs de Brissac, de Retz, de Vitri, de Fiesque, de Fontrailles, de Montresor, de Noirmoutier, de Matha, de la Boulaie, de Caumesnil, de Moreul, de Laigues, and d'Annery, remained united to us, and we made up together a kind of a body, which being supported by the people was more than a shadow. The Cardinal however treated it as such at first, and in so haughty a manner, that Mr. de Beaufort, Mr. de Brissac, Mr. de la Mothe and I, having each of us desired a friend to assure the Queen of our most humble respects, her answer was,

That

That she would receive those assurances when we had paid our respects to the Cardinal.

Madam de Chevreuse returned to Paris just at that time. Laigues, who was come eight or ten days before her, had prepared us to it. He had followed his directions very well, by plying her very close, though she had at first no inclination for him. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse has since told me that her mother used to say at first, that Laigues was like Bellerose, who was a comediah of a very insipid mien, that she altered her opinion before she parted from Brussels; and that she was every way pleased with him during her stay at Cambray. That gentleman was no less pleased with her. He cried her up to us for a heroine, to whom we had owed the Duke of Lorrain's declaring for us, if the war had continued, and to whom we were indebted for the Spanish army's march. Montresor, who had been fifteen months prisoner in the Bastille upon her account, was crying her up in no less a manner. I was glad of this, having it in view to supplant Madam de Montbazon, by taking Mr. de Beaufort from her, and by delivering him into Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's hands (there having been formerly some talk of a marriage between them) and having likewise in view to open myself a new way with the Spaniards, in case of need. Madam de Chevreuse came above half way to meet me. Noirmoutier and Laigues, who judged me useful to that lady, and who were afraid that Madam de Guimené, who hated her mortally, though they were sisters-in-law, would be a hindrance to the friendship which they designed to knit betwixt her and me, laid a trap for me, into which I fell. That Lady was no sooner arrived at Paris, but those gentlemen contrived that her daughter and I should stand for godfather and godmother to a child that seemed to be born at that nick of time to serve their purpose. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had dressed herself to the best advantage: she was handsome, and I was incensed at Madam de Guimené, for her running away from us into Anjou, out of fright, the second day that Paris was besieged. The day that followed

the

the chriſtening, an occaſion of ſerving her happened which ſhe thought deſerved her thanks, and which gave me ſome hopes of becoming friends with her. Madam de Chevreuſe was juſt arrived from Bruſſels, and was come from thence without any leave. The Queen took that ill, and ſent an order for her to depart from Paris in twenty-four hours. Laigues came to me immediately to give me notice of it, and I went with him to the Hôtel de Chevreuſe, where we found the young lady at her toilet, all in tears. I felt my heart moved at it, and I deſired Madam de Chevreuſe to ſtay till I returned, before ſhe obeyed the order. I left her and went to find out Mr. de Beaufort, whom I perſuaded that it was neither for our honour or intereſt to ſuffer the Lettres-de-cachet, which had proved one of the moſt odious means for oppreſſing public liberty, to be brought into uſe again. I wanted his aſſiſtance, thinking that we two were little enough to meddle with an affair of this nature, which, though ſupported by the laws, and of great concern to the public ſafety, was yet very tickliſh, both in reſpect of the peace ſo newly made, and of that lady who was known to have been the moſt imbroiled of any in intrigues, and in factions. That made me therefore think it better that that attempt, which we could not, nor ought not to avoid, though it was attended with ſome inconveniences, ſhould be made rather by Mr. de Beaufort than me. But he refuſed obſtinately the doing it, and I was forced to undertake it myſelf, becauſe it was neceſſary that it ſhould be done at leaſt by one of us two, to have it work upon the firſt Preſident's mind. I went to him after I had left Mr. de Beaufort, and as I was about repreſenting to him the neceſſity there was not to incenſe the people's minds by the infringement of declarations ſo ſolemnly made, he ſtopped me ſhort by ſaying: 'It is enough, my good 'Lord: you are unwilling that ſhe ſhould leave Paris; 'ſhe ſhall ſtay here;' at that he whiſpered me in the ear: 'Her eyes are moſt engaging.' He ſpoke to me in this manner, becauſe though he had obeyed the Queen, he had immediately ſent her word, That that

attempt

attempt would be vain, and that it was expoſing the King's authority in too ſlight a manner.

I came back to the Hôtel de Chevreuſe, where I was not ill received. Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe appeared lovely to me. I deſtroyed * the good opinion which ſhe might have of the Duke de Brunſwick-Zell, to whom ſhe was in ſome ſort betrothed. I contracted a great friendſhip with Madam de Rhodes, a natural daughter of the late Cardinal de Guiſe, who was upon good terms with the young lady. Laigues oppoſed me at the beginning, but the mother's eaſy temper, and the daughter's reſolution, quickly removed that obſtacle. I ſaw the young lady every day at the Hôtel de Chevreuſe, and very often at Madam de Rhodes's, who left us entirely to ourſelves. We made uſe of the opportunity. I loved her, or rather I fancied I did, for I did not diſcontinue all the while my commerce with Madam de Pomereux.

Among thoſe that remained united to me, where Meſſieurs de Briſſac, de Vitri, de Matha, and de Fontrailles, but the benefit I received by it was mixed with great inconveniences. Theſe gentlemen were prodigiouſly debauched, and the public licentiouſneſs giving them ſtill a free ſcope, they every day fell into exceſſes that grew at laſt ſcandalous. One day that they had dined together at Coulon's, they met as they came back, a funeral proceſſion, which they went to charge ſword in hand, crying aloud to the crucifix: *Here's the enemy!* Another time they fell in a rude manner, in the open ſtreet, upon a footman of the King's. In their drunken ſongs God Almighty himſelf was not always ſpared. This behaviour of theirs was an occaſion of trouble to me. The firſt Preſident knew very well how to make uſe of it: the clergy was offended at it: the people did not reliſh it at all: it was not in my power either to hide or excuſe it; and ſo the blame fell neceſſarily upon the FRONDE. I will here acquaint you with the origin of the word *Fronde*, which I forgot to do in the firſt book of theſe Memoirs.

* It has been neceſſary to tranſpoſe this period to make the ſenſe clear.

When

When the parliament began to assemble about public affairs, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, as I have mentioned, came pretty often thither, and seldom failed to calm people's minds. But that calm lasted not long, and in two days time they grew as hot as before. One day * Bachamount happened to compare jestingly the parliament to the school-boys, who used to fling stones with a sling in the ditches round Paris, who run away the moment they spy some town-officers coming towards them, and who return to their sport as soon as those officers disappear. The jest was liked, and the comparison was made use of in lampoons; and so the party was called the Sling (in French the FRONDE) and the party-men the Slingers (in French FRONDEURS). These words were revived, and were chiefly made use of and applied (after the peace was made between the King and the parliament) to the private faction of those who came to no accommodation with the court. We took care to keep them in vogue; for we had observed that party-names are of some help for inflaming people, and we resolved all of us to wear hatbands made in some sort like a Sling, or FRONDE. A trusty hatter got a great many to be made, and sold them to an infinite number of persons, who knew nothing of a mystery in it. We came at last to wear them, as others did, for if we had affected to wear them first, that had spoiled the jest. You cannot imagine the effect that trifle had. Every thing was made, A-la-mode de la FRONDE; bread, hats, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, trimmings: and our party became even more in fashion by means of this trifle, than by any thing else of greater moment. We wanted indeed all manner of help to keep our ground, having against us the whole Royal family. For though I had seen the Prince of Condé at Madam de Longueville's, I had no reason to think myself fully reconciled to him. He had treated me civilly, but coldly, and besides, I knew he believed that I had complained of him for his not fulfilling the promises

* A Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, son to the President le Coigneux.

which

which I had made in his name, and by his order, to some particular persons of the parliament. I had not done it, which made me conclude, that some body had taken pains to incense him against me. The likeliest man, in my thoughts, for doing me this evil turn, was the Prince of Conti, whom I knew to be naturally very malicious, and who hated me for no manner of cause that either he or myself knew. I was likewise but upon ill terms with Madam de Longueville, and it was not long before I discovered the reason why. I mistrusted Madam de Montbazon, who, though she had not near so great an influence over Mr. de Beaufort as I had, had yet more than enough, to become mistress of all his secrets. She could not love me, because she knew that I deprived her mostly of the regard which she might expect from the court by her governing the Duke de Beaufort. I might however have pieced with her, for never woman was of an easier composition; but how could that piecing have agreed with my other engagements, that were more pleasing and safer to me? You may by this see, that I was not free from trouble. The Count de Fuensaldagne undertook to set me at ease. He was not pleased with Mr. de Bouillon, who certainly had missed the decisive point, that is, the general peace. He was much less so with his Envoys, whom he called moles; but he was extremely pleased with me, because I had always insisted for a peace between the two crowns, and because I had no manner of concern in the peace with the parliament. He sent Don Antonio Pimentel to me, to offer me every thing that was in his master's power, and to tell me, that knowing upon what foot I was with the minister, he made no doubt but that I wanted support; that he desired me therefore to accept one hundred thousand crowns, which Don Antonio Pimentel had brought me in three bills of exchange, payable in Bale, Strasbourg, and Francfort. That he asked for it no manner of engagement from me; and that his Catholick Majesty would be very well satisfied if he reaped by it no other advantage than that of protecting me. I heard all this with a great deal of respect, and I shewed a

grateful

grateful ſenſe of theſe offers, which I did not altogether reject for the time to come, but which I refuſed for the preſent, telling Don Antonio, that I ſhould think myſelf altogether unworthy his Catholick Majeſty's protection, if I accepted gratifications from him when I was not in a condition to do him ſervice. That I was born a Frenchman, and more particularly attached to Paris by the poſt I held, than any other could be; that my misfortune had ſet me at variance with the King's firſt miniſter, but that my reſentment would never prompt me to ſeek for a ſupport among enemies, till I was forced to it by the natural neceſſity of a ſelf-defence; that Divine Providence, to whom the uprightneſs of my intention was known, had in all likelihood given me ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport myſelf in Paris by my own means; that if I became in need of a protection, I knew that I could never meet with ſo illuſtrious or ſo powerful a one as that of his Catholick Majeſty, which I ſhould think it always glorious for me to have recourſe to. Fuenſaldagne was very well pleaſed with this anſwer, which appeared to him (as he told St. Ibal ſince) to come from a man who confided in his own ſtrength, who was not greedy of money, and who in time might be perſuaded to take ſome. He ſent me back immediately Don Antonio Pimentel, with a long letter full of civilities, and a billet writ by the Archduke, wherein he ſaid, that upon the leaſt notice from me, he would march **with all the forces of the King his Lord.*

The day after Don Antonio Pimentel's departure, a ſmall accident happened that troubled me more than a greater. Laigues came to acquaint me, that the Prince of Conti was in a terrible anger at me; that he complained that I had been wanting to the reſpect I owed him; that he would be revenged on me for it, were he to periſh in the attempt, he and the whole houſe of Condé. Sarrazin †, whom I had placed with that Prince to be his Secretary, came to me a moment after,

* *Con todas las fuerças de Roi el Sennor*

† John-Francis Sarrazin, of the French academy, whoſe writings in proſe and verſe are very much valued.

and

and confirmed the thing. I leave you to judge what ſurprize a complaint of this nature muſt cauſe to a man who is conſcious to himſelf that he had done nothing amiſs. But if it ſurpriſed me much, it moved me but little, becauſe I was far from having for the Prince's perſon the ſame reſpect I had for his quality. I deſired Laigues to go to him from me with a tender of the duty I owed him, to aſk him in a reſpectful manner the cauſe of his anger, and to aſſure him that it could have no foundation relating to me. Laigues came back very much ſatisfied that there had been no real anger, and that all was nothing but counterfeiting and affectation, with a view to come to ſome kind of explanation that might produce, or ſeem to produce, a reconcilement. The reaſon of his thinking ſo was, that he no ſooner had made his compliment to the Prince, but that he ſeemed to be pleaſed with it, though he was ſent back for an anſwer to Madam de Longueville, as to the perſon chiefly concerned. She expreſſed to Laigues a great deal of civility for me, and deſired him to bring me to her that night. She received me admirably well, telling me, however, that ſhe had many great cauſes of complaint againſt me, but that they were matters not fit to be told, and that without telling I knew what they were. This is all I could get from her towards an explanation, but as for matter of civilities I had enough and enough, and even advances enough for a re-union (ſhe ſaid) with me and my friends; at this ſhe ſtruck me gently on the face with one of her gloves, ſaying: *Do you know what I mean?* and then went away. I knew what ſhe meant, which was right enough to have ſerved her purpoſe. Mr. de la Rochefoucaut had been for a long while negotiating with the court, but as there was no truſting Cardinal Mazarin's word, he thought that it would not be amiſs to ſpur him on, or fix him, by bringing the Prince of Conti into ſome new conſideration with him. That Prince was but upon a very indifferent foot with the Prince of Condé his brother, both becauſe the Prince of Condé deſpiſed him, and becauſe every thing made it appear that they were not ſincerely

reconciled. It was for that reaſon that the Prince of Conti would have been well pleaſed to appear again at the head of the Fronde, from which he had divided himſelf immediately after the peace, by ſome jeſts which it was not in his power to forbear, and by his cloſing again with the court, though, againſt all manner of good ſenſe, there was more of ſhew in it than of reality. It came into Mr. de la Rochefoucaut's head that the moſt natural way to remove the coldneſs that had been taken notice of between the Fronde and the Prince, was a reconcilement that muſt infallibly make a noiſe, and become conſequently ſuſpicious to the court, which was the thing which Mr. de la Rochefoucaut aimed at. I have once or twice ſince aſked him to tell me the truth of this intrigue. His anſwer was only in general, that at that time they were perſuaded amongſt their cabal, that I did ill offices upon his ſcore to Madam de Longueville with the Duke her huſband, which of all things in the world is what I have all my life-time been the leaſt capable of. Neither do I believe that that was the cauſe of the reſentment which the Prince of Conti ſhewed againſt me, becauſe Laigues had no ſooner ſpoke to him in my name, as I have mentioned, but he received me with open arms; and that Madam de Longueville had no ſooner perceived that I anſwered her propoſal about a re-union with me and my friends, only in general terms, but ſhe fell again into a coldneſs for me which turned into hatred. I was conſcious to myſelf, as I have already ſaid, that I had done nothing that deſerved ſuch a ſhew of reſentment as the Prince of Conti had expreſſed againſt me, which I took therefore to be affected, and done with a view of a reconcilement that might ſerve ſome private ends; and that was the reaſon why I appeared ſo cold to Madam de Longueville when ſhe mentioned a reconcilement. She took this coldneſs for a refuſal, and that, added to what paſſed before, was followed by conſequences which ought to have taught us, *That there are no ſmall ſteps in great affairs.*

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